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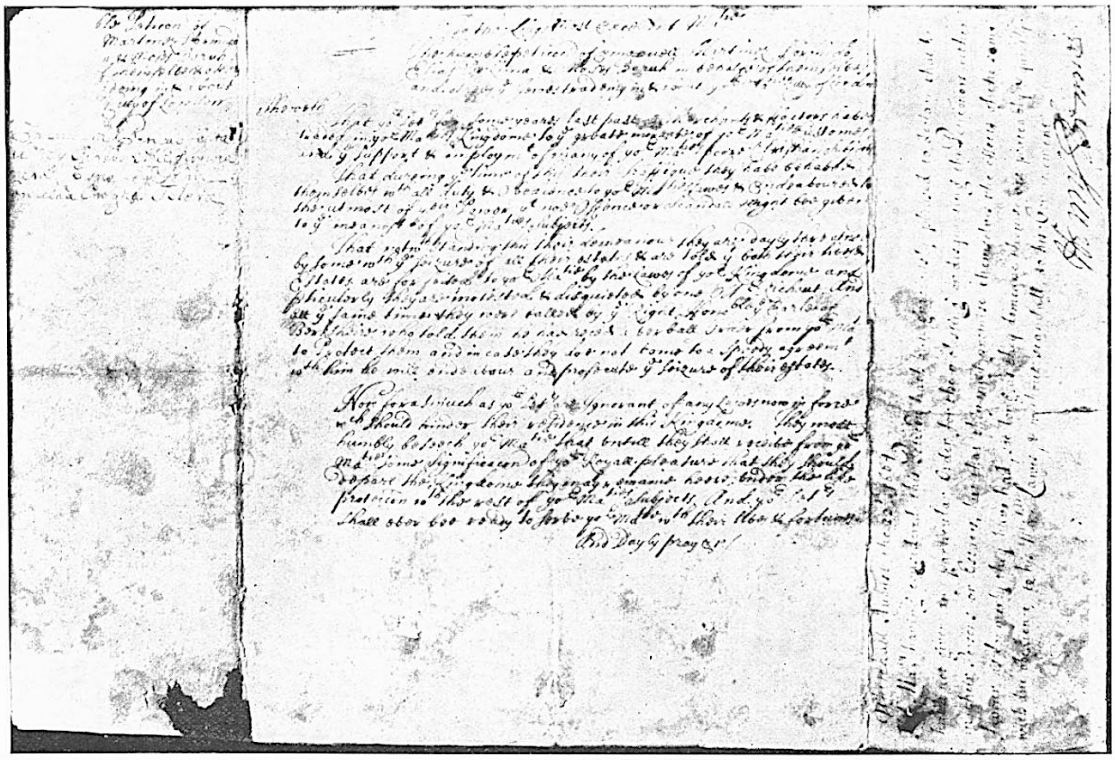
Jewry in England: A Thousand-Year History

Volume 3: Royal Protectors of the Jews (1658-1714)



THE FIRST PETITION OF THE JEWS AND THE CHARTER OF CHARLES II. 1664.

Jewry in England: A Thousand-Year History

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Jews Allied with the Royalists

Oliver Cromwell died on September 3rd, 1658, and his son Richard was installed as his successor that same month.

Anti-Jewish forces immediately returned to the fore among the people, and after just a few weeks a certain Richard Baker presented a detailed petition to Richard Cromwell.[1] The City of London was probably behind this petition, as its main complaint was the decline of English trade due to Jewish competition. Admittedly, the war with Spain was taking its toll, and it was primarily 'the blood-sucking *Jews*, and other Strangers' who 'export not our Native Commodities', instead importing foreign goods of all kinds and then sending abroad England's specie [precious-metal money] 'and so they eat us out, and extract and get away the wealth of these Nations'. Baker also pointed out that '⅔ of the monies that this day is turned by exchange, is their monies, and hereby they also make great benefit on us'. In addition, the Jews in 'Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Holland &c.' had conspired to dictate their terms to English shipowners, effectively running an international cartel which has effectively turned them into the 'chiefe Traders' who 'devour this Common-wealth; and it is to be feared that in a short time they will carry away the whole wealth and treasure of these Nations'. If the English shipowners refused to accept the disproportionately low freight rates offered to them, the ships would often have to return in ballast. There was no doubt to Richard Baker that, unless something was done, English shipping, and English merchants generally, would soon be doomed to ruin.[2]

Baker made several suggestions for increasing English trade, the ninth of which is as follows:

> *To Expell or Banish the Jews*, and presently to have an exact account made up of the value of the Native Commodities they have exported, and what those they have imported amount unto; and if it be not thought fit that all the over value shall be paid unto the State, yet that they be fined, for extracting the wealth of their Nations: and that the like Inquisition be made in some measure with other Strangers.[3]

The petition did not meet with any success and, as far as can be determined, Baker did not even receive an answer, which was probably in the most part due to the generally precarious political situation after the death of Oliver Cromwell. The instability did not end with Richard Cromwell's abdication at the end of April 1659, which cleared the path for the return of Charles II.

We shall now briefly examine the stance that the Jews adopted after the Whitehall Conference towards the rising level of Royalist sentiment in England.

As early as 1655 we can see that leading circles of the Royalist party were interested in the Jews. In the previously discussed letter of September 20th, 1655 from Sir Marmaduke Langdale to Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of the exiled King Charles II, Langdale wrote the following:

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1 Wolf: *Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 71; Hyamson: *History*, p. 167.
2 Baker, pp. 15-6. Translator's note: All quoted elements translated verbatim from original source.
3 Baker, p. 17. Translator's note: Quotation translated verbatim from original source.

> For that clause of Mr. Overton's letter which mentions the Jewes, it proceded from some discourses I had with Mr. Brokes [Sexby] about them, who seamed much to favour them as necessary for a kingdome, and I believe their tenents do not much differ. I desired Mr. Overton to sound their intentions by some of his party in Holland. I am very sorry they agree with Cromwell. The Jewes are considerable all the world over, and the great masters of money. If his Majesty could either have them or divert them from Cromwell, it were a very good service…[4]

It is clear from this excerpt that the Royalists in Holland had put out feelers for a rapprochement with the Jews living there. However, the Royalists could not succeed, for at that very moment the leaders of world Jewry were planning to send Menasseh ben Israel to London, as they had pinned all of their hopes on an agreement with Cromwell.

However, the situation looked completely different a few months later, when by February 1656 the Jews' negotiations in London had been deemed a failure. It had become clear to them that even the all-powerful Cromwell could not get them the necessary parliamentary approval to settle in England. They therefore changed sides within a short time and made themselves available to the Royalists. As can be seen from a mandate from Charles II to General Middleton on September 24th, 1656, the Royalists were already inclined at this time to make binding cooperation agreements with the Jews. This document is so interesting in every respect that we have reproduced it below:

> CHARLES, by the grace, etc. To our trusty and well-beloved servant, Lt. Gen. John Middleton…:
>
> Whereas you have represented to us the good affection which some principle persons of the Hebrew Nacion resyding in Amsterdam have expressed to you towards our service, and that they have assured you that the application which hath bene lately made to Crumwell on ther behalfe by some persons of that nacion hath been without ther consent, and is utterly disavowed by them, and they are desirous by all offices to express ther good will to us and desyre our reestablishment. Wee do heareby appointe you to lett them know how gratiously wee accepte these ther professyons, and that wee are very farr from that prejudice to them as to look on them as enimyes, and that wee shall be gladd to receave any such evidence of ther affection to us as may be an argument in better times to us to avow and declare our resolutions in ther favour. And wee do heareby give you full power and authority to treate with such of the principle persons of that nacion who for ther interest and discretion are most fitt to be trusted in an affayre of such importance, and to assure them that if they shall in this conjuncture be ready by any contributions of mony, Armes, or Ammunicion to advance that service with which wee have intrusted you, that shall finde that when God shall restore us to the possission of our rights and to that power which of right doth belonge to us, wee shall extende that protection to them which they can reasonably expecte, and abate that rigour of the Lawes which is against them in our severall dominions, and you shall tell them that if in these our streights, when by our conjuncture with Spayne they cannot but

4 *Nicholas Papers*, Vol. III, p. 51. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source (with a few spelling conventions updated to ensure reader comprehension). As is alluded to in the main text, this letter was also discussed in Volume 2, where the subsequent part of this quotation about the Jews can be found.

> looke upon our affayres as in a hopefull condicion, they shall lay a signal obligacion upon us, it will not only dispose us to be gratious to them, and to be willinge to protecte them, but be a morall assurance to them that wee shall be able to do whatsoever wee shall be willinge when we can justly publish and declare to all men how much wee have bene beholdinge to them, and how farr they have contributed towards our restoration, which no doubt will by all who are well affected to us be valued as it ought to be. And wee do likewise give you full power and authority to receave all summes of mony, Armes or Ammunition as they shall be willinge to furnish you, and acknowledgement under your hande shall oblige us to the repayment of the same as soone as wee shall be able in the same manner as if the same were delivered to ourselfe, and for what you shall do in pursuance of this our Commissyon this shall be your warrant.
>
> Given at Bruges, the 24th September, 1656.[5]

The Jews promised money, weapons and ammunition, resources that play a major role in waging war. They gave all of this for a bill of exchange, based on the uncertain future of Charles II. Because only in the event of his ascension to the English throne would he be able to pay back the money and protect the Jews in return. A good deal for both parties, but a big financial risk for the Jews as the success of Charles was far from assured. The fact that they accepted the deal in spite of this uncertainty shows their enormous interest in moving the centre of their world politics to London.

Wolf has challenged the commonly held view that the Hebrews colluded with both Cromwell and his adversary Charles II.[6] To justify this, he cites the fact that the Jews in Holland, with whom Charles negotiated, were always on the side of the Royalists, and never wanted anything to do with the Puritans. Meanwhile, their ethnic brethren in England, such as Carvajal and de Caceres, remained loyal to Cromwell (although there were the exceptions of da Costa and Coronel, who always supported Charles II). There is no way that one can follow Wolf's line of reasoning. It is beyond doubt that Charles II or General Middleton negotiated with the Jews in Amsterdam. But we saw previously how world Jewry, under the leadership of the Jewish colony in Amsterdam, sent Menasseh to London to negotiate with Cromwell. There is no evidence to prove that there were different opinions among the Jews in Amsterdam about his departure. On the contrary, we have already seen how Menasseh himself wrote that the Jewish community of Holland received the English envoys with 'great pomp and applause' in their synagogue [see Volume 2]. Even if some Jews pretended to disagree with Menasseh's mission, this was probably only a bet-hedging strategy, to save face on both sides. In fact, it may be the exact same group of Jews that turned to Cromwell in the autumn of 1655 as came to an agreement with Charles II the next year.

Although from the outside the leading Hebrews who sided either with Cromwell or Charles II were different people, given the well-known cohesion of the Jews globally, concerns arose from the outset as to whether da Costa and Coronel were not collaborating with Carvajal and de Caceres. This assumption becomes a certainty when one considers that the da Costa and Mendes families are so closely related that they are effectively seen as one entity.[7] The Mendes family, the Rothschilds

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5 Firth: Scotland pp. 342-3. Translator's note: Translation reproduced verbatim and with original spellings as per original source, although the i/j and u/v spelling conventions have been updated for reader comprehension.

6 Wolf: *Menasseh ben Israel*, pp. 73/74.

7 *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV p. 288 (s.v. COSTA, DA, PEDIGREE); Wolf: *Crypto-Jews*, p. 72.

of 17th century Holland, were, as has previously been stated, in close collaboration with Carvajal and Caceres in favour of Cromwell.[8] There is too much involved in this situation to make us believe that Jews who were related and had business connections with one another took completely different political paths, especially since the goals of both strategies were ultimately the same: admission to England.

The same findings and conclusions apply to Coronel, or to call him by his full name, Augustine Coronel-Chacon, who was formerly an agent of Carvajal's in Lisbon[9] and a relative of the Mendes family.[10] All these facts, verified by documentary evidence, should clearly prove that the Hebrews had two irons in the fire in order to secure themselves with each side.

In accordance with their agreement with Charles II, the Jews distributed funds to promote the Royalist party and did everything else possible to further its cause. Coronel was a close friend of General Monk, who played a crucial role in the restoration of Charles II.[11] So was it also Jewish money that in this case caused Monk to take this stance? We can no longer prove it, but can only conjecture due to his connection with the Jews and their known behaviour in this regard.

In this period of English history we also find the oft-criticised behaviour of the Jews switching sides in matters in which they want to achieve something for themselves. But what we have detailed is nothing new, even for that time. When they were expelled from the country by a decree of King James I, we find them on the side of the Republicans in England as early as 1643.[12] Their support for Cromwell was therefore only an expression of this behaviour. But how quickly they changed sides again when Oliver Cromwell's star started to fade and they came to realise that they could not expect any help from his weak son in achieving their English, and therefore global, ambitions.

Richard Cromwell abdicated at the end of April 1659, and about a year later Charles II entered London as King of England. In the meantime, however, numerous political events had taken place; neither the Jews nor their opponents had been idle.

Apparently the former had made a renewed attempt to secure a well-known building for conversion into a synagogue. Hence we find, in the surviving state papers, the following entry for June 16th, 1659: 'The Jews offer to buy the beautiful room in Whitehall for their synagogue, and promise not to demolish it.'[13]

This time it was not St. Paul's Cathedral that was to be used for Jewish religious services, but rather a no less well-known gala room in the government district of Whitehall. Obviously nothing came of the offer. The political conditions at the time were probably the main reason for this failure, and were why the efforts of those opposed to the Jews similarly came to naught.

This time the anti-Jewish forces were led by a man named Thomas Violet. He was a goldsmith and alderman of London. As a supporter of Charles I, he was punished by the Republicans with many years in prison. After his release, he did everything he could to uncover

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8 Wolf: *Crypto-Jews*, p. 72. Translator's note: See also Volume 2 for further evidence of this collaboration.
9 Hyamson: *History*, p. 137.
10 Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 17.
11 Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 15 ff.; *Crypto-Jews*, pp. 71, 74-5; *Status*, p. 182 ff.; *Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 73. Translator's note: Today the general's surname is more commonly rendered 'Monck'.
12 Cunningham: *Growth*, Vol. I (The Mercantile System), p. 325.
13 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1658/59 p. 367. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. Thomas Violet, in his 1660 *Petition*, stated that the Jews had attempted to buy the Court of Whitehall.

banned gold and silver exports.[14] Perhaps in his extensive investigations Violet came across export crimes committed by the Jews – who, as is well known, controlled a large part of this trade – and thus became their bitter enemy. No further details can be found in this regard. In any case, in December 1659 he appeared before Mr. Justice Tyril, to whom he verbally presented his intention to take action against the Jews using documentary evidence. Tyril seems to have agreed with Violet on the matter.[15] However, the judge advised the goldsmith to wait until Charles II had returned to England, advice which left Violet very dissatisfied.[16] How much the political order was in a state of great upheaval can be seen from many other events and writings. In the latter category, a short pamphlet from 1660 with the title: *Awake O England* is of interest. The anonymous author complains bitterly about the ruinous conditions brought about by Cromwell and calls on the populace to recall King Charles II as quickly as possible. He particularly objects to the established bad practice of revealing English manufacturing methods to foreigners, given that he mentions it twice in the pamphlet:

> …The Mysteries of our crafts, and the Materials of our Manefactoures, do find such acceptable receit in forraign parts, as unconscionable men have brought the Ruines of their own Countrey into a trade…
>
> …we presently encounter another *Object* of our sorrows, the Body of our Trades is anatomized, desected, and from the most intrinsique secrets thereof, is discovered to Forreigners, all workings in wool, which together with that material have, by the providence of our Ancestors been, with all their Wisdome, restrained from other Nations, are now so much at liberty, and by false-hearted *English* men, made so familiar to strangers, as not onely our Mysteries are laid open, but our materials are made theirs, and that trade of cloathing, which in one valuable kind of another, maintained eleven or twelve parts of our Kingdoms, is almost totally lost to *England*…[17]

Given that Jews were also among the foreigners, so we are interested by the slogan *Awake O England*, because centuries later this same call has been made once again by the English Fascists and the National Socialists.

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14 *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 20, p. 374.

15 Hyamson: *History*, p. 170; Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 13.

16 Violet: *Petition*. pp. 7-8.

17 *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. I, p. 275 ff. Translator's note: Quotations and title reproduced verbatim and with original punctuation from the original 1660 pamphlet, available online at Internet Archive. The quotations from the pamphlet (which correspond to pages 6 and 7), correspond to page 277 of *Harleian Miscellany*, which reproduces the pamphlet with the more modern typesetting, spelling and punctuation conventions of the early 19th century, making it the more readable option for the modern researcher. The pamphleteer disguises his anonymity with a pseudonym which becomes a clever pun when inserted into the rest of sentence: 'Printed for *Charles Prince*, and are to be sold at the East end of St. *Pauls*, 1660.'

Repelling a City Attack

On May 20th, 1660, Charles II landed in Dover and on May 29th he entered London.[18] Many issues were awaiting legislation. The Jewish Question also immediately appeared as an issue to be dealt with.

All laws and regulations, in particular all of Oliver Cromwell's actions, were declared null and void unless the express consent of Parliament had been given.[19] This meant the Jews had fought in vain for their residence permit in England, as they had only enjoyed Cromwell's personal protection. With Cromwell's death, they had no state sanction for their presence in England. We now see all the more clearly the importance of the Jewish agreements with Charles II, according to which he promised them, in the event of his return, the same personal protection that Cromwell had given them. The Jews' switching of sides had therefore been worth the financial risk, as even under Charles II they had no hope of receiving legal approval from Parliament for their presence in England. As before, the overwhelming majority of the English people were against their admission, as can be seen from the sequence of events in 1660. What is certain is that the anti-Jewish forces among the populace effectively knew nothing about the king's agreement with the Jews, and took the legal position that the Jews' residence in England was without state approval.

Consequently, it is understandable that immediately after Charles II's arrival in June 1659, Violet appeared again before Mr. Justice Tyril and asked for instructions on how to proceed with his complaint. Tyril referred him to some members of the Privy Council, whom he himself informed in detail about the laws and existing documents on the Jewish Question and with whom Violet and Tyril apparently initially discussed and prepared the case.[20] Only on November 30th, 1660, did the Privy Council eventually deal with the case, as far as can be determined from the following entry in the *Calendar of State Papers* for that year:

> [Nov. 30] 140. Remonstrance, addressed to the King, concerning the English Jews, showing the mischiefs accomplished by them since their coming in at the time of William the Conqueror; the privileges which they purchased by money; their prosperity notwithstanding their oppressions and taxations, their ill-dealings and banishment by Edw. I. at the desire of the whole kingdom; yet they have since returned, renewed their usurious and fraudulent practices, and flourish so much that they endeavoured to buy St. Paul's for a synagogue in the late usurper's time; suggesting the issue of a commission to enquire into their state, and the imposition of heavy taxes, seizure of their personal property, and banishment for residence without licence, &c.[21]

18 *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. IV, p. 91.
19 Henriques: *Return*, p. 77.
20 Violet: *Petition*, pp. 7-8.
21 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1660/61, p. 366. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim and in full from original source.

It is not entirely clear whether the Privy Council only dealt with Violet's petition that day or also other people's petitions on the same matter,[22] but it is also irrelevant. In his petition, Violet first pointed out the previous history of the Jews in England. He certainly based this on Prynne's research, which we are familiar with. What interest us, however, are his observations about the Jews present in London and their businesses. We hear that they became extraordinarily rich in a short time and caused considerable damage to the English merchants, using their wealth to take over trade everywhere. The populace's aversion to them is also very strong. Violet suggested that the king treat the Jews exactly as his predecessors had before 1290. Accordingly, it was advisable to impose special taxes on them and to consider their assets as belonging to the king. In any case, the latter should not tolerate them trading in England without a special license. Of course, in order to monitor them, it would be necessary to appoint loyal subjects to investigate all of their transactions. Alternatively, there was nothing standing in the way of the king banishing the Jews from England once more. If the king could not bring himself to do this, he would definitely have to place special taxes on the Jews and ensure that the English merchants were given opportunities to regain their trade.[23]

Moreover, Violet found a powerful ally in the City of London's notables, who had acted even sooner than he had to get their petition in front of the king. In the words of Lucien Wolf:

> Scarcely had Charles arrived in the Metropolis when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London presented to him a humble petition, bitterly complaining of the action of Cromwell in permitting the Jews to re-enter the land, and asking the King ‘to cause the former laws made against the Jews to be put in execution, and to recommend to your two Houses of Parliament to enact such new ones for the expulsion of all professed Jews out of your Majesty’s dominions, and to bar the door after them with such provisions and penalties as in your Majesty’s wisdom should be found most agreeable to the benefits of religion, the honour of your Majesty, and the good and welfare of your subjects.’ The long pent-up wrath of the city found full expression in this petition, which must be read in its entirety to be appreciated.[24]

Fortunately, the contents of this petition have been preserved in their entirety for us to read, so that in this instance we have the view of a corporation and not just of an individual (the latter usually tending towards anonymous diatribes), because Jewish historians have a marked tendency to defame the character of anti-Jewish individuals, who are usually cast as scoundrels and notorious liars.[25]

The petition from the City of London is a detailed document. Here we only find sober statements from merchants about their economic situation. The trade of English companies had declined horribly solely due to the fact that the exportation of woollen and other native commodities had fallen into the hands of:

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22 Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 13; Henriques: *Return*, p. 76, n. 1.

23 Thomas Violet’s petition is reproduced verbatim in Wolf: *Status*, pp. 188-192.

24 Wolf: *Status*, p. 182. Translator’s note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. We can be sure of the order in which the king received the petitions, because the text continues: ‘Mr. Thomas Violet followed with another petition, which was equally violent.’

25 For a contemporaneous example of such defamation, see *The Great Trappaner of England* (1660).

> …such strangers both Christians and Jews who live here obscurely, free from family expenses and charge of Public offices and, by the assistance of drawers of Cloth, Packers, Clothworkers & others, pretended English merchants defraud your Majesty and your Kingdom of that foreign Trade which can more than sufficiently be supplied by your Majesty's native subjects.

This 'grand complication of mischief' was all thanks to 'late usurper' Cromwell, who, prompted by his own 'corrupt interest':

> …resolved as subtly as wickedly to let in that swarme of Locusts for a plague upon us who are now daily multiplied by the accession of whole families of them from all parts (as if your Majesty's dominions were condemned to be the Sink into which the scum of Mankind should be emptied for a plague to your subjects) from which most if not all hereditary Monarchies of Christendom are secured & against which your petitioners do humbly hope that your Majesty will provide an antidote when your Majesty shall have considered how prejudicial most Jews are…

The king was warned not to tolerate them in the country. In other states that were by no means friendly to England, they had already managed to gain a foothold in the governments themselves. Given their ties to one another, it is entirely possible that the Jews living in England would pass on important information to their ethnic brethren living abroad:

> That those Jews having no other relation to these Kingdoms but their present liberty in order to the gaining of money and having their kindred & friends dispersed in all the Kingdoms & States of Christendom under a disguise of Christians and many of them crept into public employment under the neighbour Princes & States, those Jews doubtless here will by their correspondency with their said brethren discover the ocurrences of your Majesties affairs, as far as they can do to the prejudice of your Majesty's just & Honourable designs especially if it may serve those foreign States into whose dominions they have a free & sure retreat when they can do no further mischief here.

To make matters worse, there was also the issue of the Jews sexually exploiting the native English women and 'tainting the blood' of the nation:

> …as to the Honour of the nations of your Majesty's dominions, they have already debauched some necessitous [destitute] ones of the weaker sex to the abominable taint of the English blood & bringing on us the infamy of a mixt nation…

Then there was the problem of fraudulent trade, and Jewish behaviour generally, leading to an impoverishment and bankruptcy of the native people:

> …your Petitioners already groaned under the wheel of their oppression; who are People that make it a practise to deceive Christians & are never just but when they cannot be otherwise; who never employ a Christian to gain a penny under them when none of their own tribes can serve them; who have found the way to buy our native manufactures on the best terms to ship them under English disguise and prostituted their price of them in foreign ports and raised the price of foreign Commodities to the great damage of your Majesty's subjects in all the ports of the Spanish and Portugal dominions so as if they be continued here that whole trade will be drained from the English to the irreparable loss of their Majesty's native People & that not only by these subtle underminings but by pure frauds also as appears by every fresh & sad experiences of several of them who having cheated other Christians in foreign parts under one name have assumed another & betaken hither and here by the confederacy of their own sort raised themselves a Reputation so as to obtain credit from your Majesty's subjects and then retired themselves with the English estates to the ruin of many good families.

The City of London therefore humbly requested that the king take action against this unregulated trade, and in particular:

> …that your Majesty will be pleased to cause the former Laws made against Jews to be put in execution & to recommend to your two houses of Parliament to enact such new ones for the expulsion of all professed Jews out of your Majesty's dominions & to bar the door after them with such provisions and penalties as in your Majesty's wisdom shall be found most agreeable to the safety of Religion the honour of your Majesty and the good & welfare of your subjects.[26]

So in order to keep the race pure and to prevent the nation from being bled dry, the English people demanded the expulsion of the Jews: demands of the Third Reich! Thus, individual Englishmen and, above all, the most powerful body of men in England, had requested the resolution of an important question. What could have been more natural than for the constitutional monarch to at least have the proposal discussed by the House of Lords and Parliament, especially since Charles II would have had to be very keen to maintain popular support after his return. But what actually happened to that properly submitted petition?

On December 7th we find in the minutes of the Privy Council the remark that the City's petition for the expulsion of the Jews was being discussed. There was also a petition from Fernandez Carvajal's widow and other Jews to be protected. That Carvajal's widow is named as one of the most important petitioners is interesting in that her husband, who died in 1659, was the main

26 Guildhall Archives, Remembrancer, Vol. IX, Nr. 44, fols. 1-18. [Reproduced in Wolf: *Status*, pp. 186-188.] Translator's note: All quotations reproduced verbatim from Wolf. Given the vast amount of breviographs and arcane spelling conventions which made the text difficult to decipher, I have found it necessary to modernise the spelling to ensure reader comprehension.

supporter of Cromwell's cause, to the great detriment of Charles II – further proof of our previously stated view that the switch of sides was not just done by a few, but by most of the Jews. How else could the widow of the alleged arch-enemy of Charles II have dared to be at the forefront of the Jewish supplicants?

The king personally saw to the settlement of both petitions and ordered that a member of the Privy Council refer the matter to Parliament.[27] Despite the influence of the Jew-friendly General Monk, the Privy Council apparently did not dare recommend that Parliament make a special ruling, out of consideration for popular sentiment. On December 17th, 1660, Mr. Hollis presented the issue to Parliament. In the Journal of Parliament for the day in question we find the following entry:

> Mr. *Hollis* represents, to this House, an Order made by the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council, and specially recommended to this House for their Advice therein, touching Protection for the *Jews*: Which was read.
>
> *Ordered*, That this Business be taken into Consideration To-morrow Morning.[28]

We agree with Henriques that unfortunately there is no entry relating to the matter in the journal the next day.[29] On the other hand, Henriques and Wolf seem to have overlooked the following entry for December 20th:

> The humble Petition of many Merchants, Tradesmen, and Artificers, in and about the City of *London*, and other Places within his Majesty's Realm of *England*, was read; and laid aside.[30]

Admittedly, in this entry there is no mention of Jews and their previous treatment by the Privy Council. However, there is a high probability that this was the City of London petition discussed above. Be that as it may, in both cases, despite the King's original recommendation that the matter be decided by Parliament, no action – whether positive or negative – was taken.

It must really be asked why no decision was made despite the great effort on both sides. The Jewish historians Wolf and Henriques have also dealt with this question. Wolf believes that Parliament could not have done anything because, according to him, the opinion of the judges at the Whitehall Conference had been that 'there was no law which forbad the Jews' return into England', which meant that the Jews had a 'fundamental legal right of settlement'. As a result, the king would have felt no need to interfere, as the Jews were already residing legally in England.[31] Henriques is of the opinion that issues concerning the Jewish Question were probably avoided in Parliament

27 Privy Council Register of 7th December 1660.

28 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. VIII, p. 209. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

29 Henriques: *Return*, 96. Translator's note: While Henriques states that as well as checking the journal for an entry the following day, he also checked the journal up until December 24th and found nothing, he nevertheless appears to be correct when he states: 'Parliament was dissolved without ever having given their advice on the Jewish problem as they had been requested by the Council'.

30 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. VIII, p. 217. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

31 Wolf: *Jewry*, pp. 16-17. Translator's note: Quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source.

because of ‘the general temper of the House of Commons on religious questions during this reign’.[32] However, neither historian’s argument is plausible.

Wolf misrepresents the fact that the judiciary’s opinion under Cromwell was far from decided, especially since there were at least an equal number of jurists who took the opposite view. In addition to this, it is very likely that Mr. Justice Tyril, who was responsible for this matter under Charles II, agreed with the latter's position, which alone appears to have been objectively correct, otherwise the aforementioned laws from the times of Henry III and Edward I would not have had to be repealed by a formal act of Parliament in 1846.[33] Finally, Wolf overlooks the fact that the City expressly requested that new laws be passed for this purpose if necessary.

Henriques is a little closer to the truth. Parliament was not inclined to give its consent to Jewish re-admission, and so in this respect it was really not particularly ‘accessible’ for any matters which concerned Jews (such as the City’s petition, or the widow Carvajal’s petition), as these could necessarily lead to an unwelcome discussion of the legality of the Jewish presence in the country. As a result, the king probably decided not to press the issue of Jewish re-admission, but rather to leave it on a purely personal level of toleration for the time being. So the legal situation remained unchanged, and thus remained the same as it had been under Cromwell.

32 Henriques: *Return*: p. 96. Translator’s note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.

33 9 & 10 Victoriæ, cap. 59. Translator’s note: It was not until this Religious Opinion Relief Act [‘An Act to relieve Her Majesty’s Subjects from certain Penalties and Disabilities in regard to Religious Opinions’] was passed on August 18th, 1846, that the Statutes of Henry III (54 & 55 Henriciæ III) and Edward I’s *Statutum de Judæismo* were formally repealed. See: *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 9 & 10 Victoria. 1846*, p. 413.

Charles II, Patron of the Jews

Despite the City of London's powerful influence, the assault by anti-Jewish forces was repelled. A result that is not surprising once one examines the reasons for Charles II's friendliness towards the Jews.

We have already seen how the Hebrews had substantially supported the king by supplying him money, weapons and ammunition. It is no longer possible to determine today how big the total financial donations were. James Picciotto believes that these amounted to a million guilders, which was an enormous sum for those times.[34] He considers it possible that there are still documents in Jewish archives in Holland which contain details of the Jews' agreement with Charles II, including a copy of an alleged charter which permitted the Jews to settle in England.

Wolf describes Charles II's debt of gratitude to the Jews in no uncertain terms: 'The King himself was already pledged to the Jews.'[35] We consider this view to be entirely correct and consider it the sole reason for the way he dealt with the aforementioned matter. Charles II probably enlisted the help of the Jews even after his return because, as Tovey points out, 'the Monarch… was for ever wanting Money, and wou'd do any Thing to obtain it'.[36]

It is therefore not surprising that Charles II showed himself to be even more gracious than Cromwell, who, as an exceptional act for one Jew, had only ordered for Carvajal (and his two sons) to be granted denizenship. In the case of Charles II, however, we can already see 19 such naturalisations by the end of 1661, among which featured Manuel Martinez Dormido [David Abarbanel], who had been such a loyal servant to Cromwell. Further awards of this kind took place in larger numbers over the next few years.[37] What distinguished Charles II the most, however, was the Jew Coronel, who worked for him in a leading position. After he officially converted to Christianity at the end of 1660, he was knighted on October 3rd, 1661 under the name of Sir Augustine Coronel (or Colonell, as his surname is spelled in *Le Neve's Pedigrees*).[38] However, Sir Augustine had little luck in his new dignity, as his ethnic brethren, outraged by his conversion to Christianity, seem to have persecuted him for it. We see from state documents that on December 26th, 1665, he 'begs protection' against the Jews as 'their hatred will drive him to ruin',[39] but Charles II was probably unable or unwilling to help him, because a little later in the same collection of documents we find that Sir Augustine had gone bankrupt.[40]

Charles II's public favouritism of Jews also had the effect that more and more members of this race immigrated to England. We must therefore cast doubt on Tovey's report from the 'Learned Rabbi *Netto'* who assured him that 'even so late as the Year 1663, the whole Number of *Jews* in *London* [i.e. heads of families] did not exceed twelve'.[41] The assertions of Wolf[42] and Hyamson,[43]

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34 Picciotto, p. 43. Translator's note: Picciotto states that a million guilders was equivalent to approx. £84,000 at his time of writing (1875).
35 Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 15. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
36 Tovey, p. 279. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
37 Hyamson: *History*, p. 172; Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 18; Mesquita, p. 242; *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, p. 214.
38 Wolf: *Jewry*, pp. 8, 17; *Le Neve's Pedigrees*, Vol. 8, p. 145.
39 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1665/66, p. 118. Translator's note: Quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source.
40 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1665/66, p. 137.
41 Tovey. p. 279. Translator's note: Quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source.
42 Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 19.
43 Hyamson: *History*, p. 168.

that only 35 Jewish families were settled in London at the beginning of 1661, also does not seem to do justice to the facts. Rather, Henriques' estimate is closer to the truth, which is that there were 'between Three and Fourscore Families' in London at this time.[44] Whatever the case was, even with the latter estimate it would have been a numerically small Jewish colony when compared to the City of London's large merchant community, whose petition the king apparently supported in 1660. This is yet another example in history where it is not so much the overall number of Jews that matters in a polity, as much as the money they possess, the influence they have bought with it, and their international relationships.

In the subsequent years of Charles II's reign there continued to be an uninterrupted immigration of Jews into England, so it is therefore not unfounded for Tovey to insist that Charles II was 'their *Introducer*'.[45] Nevertheless, the forces of self-preservation emerged once again. Thomas Violet wrote a new pamphlet against the Jews on December 18th, 1660, which was published at the beginning of the following year. This little book was in the form of a petition to the king and sought above all to explain the harm that the Jews always caused, especially as it pertained to England at that time. Their residence was unlawful in view of the fact that the decrees issued up until 1290 had not been repealed:

> Their Banishment was so acceptable to the people who ofttimes pressed it in parliament that they gave the King a fifteenth part of their moveables to speed and execute it, and it was done by the unanimous desire, Judgement, Edict & decree both of the King and his parliament and it was total and final to them all never to return into England again, which Edict & decree though the same may not now be found extant & in the parliament Rolls, nor in our printed Statutes, yet it is mentioned by divers Authors & in several Records…[46]

All over the world, Jews became rich by working as a closed group. They were indifferent to the country they lived in, and have no compunction about leaving one country for another. Their fraud in England was already immense.[47] Violet suggested their banishment, but failing that, setting up an English-style Inquisition:

> …your Majesty (under pardon) may be advised to issue out Comissions in the nature of Inquisitions, and thereby empower some few of your discreet loyal Subjects to inquire about the number of the Jews in general, and of their deportments, estates,

44 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), pp. 54-55. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. Given that this estimate is from a Jewish petition of 1689, I do not feel that Aldag is comparing like with like here, especially as, in the same sentence, Wolf goes on to say that, by the end of 1663, 'fifty-seven fresh names were added to the list of well-to-do Jews in London', which would indicate that, according to Wolf himself, by the end of 1663 there were already 92 Jewish families in London, which is more than that which Henriques reproduces from in the Jews' own petition 26 years later. Nevertheless, this does not negate Aldag's overall thesis, which is that the Jewish community, while more than doubling under Charles II, was still small in comparison to the City merchant community. That said, Wolf admits that there is no means of measuring the number of poorer Jews who had settled.

45 Tovey, p. 279. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.

46 Violet: *Petition*, pp. 2-3. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim (although with updated spelling for reader comprehension) from Wolf: *Status*, p. 190.

47 Violet: *Petition*, p. 4. Translator's note: Alternatively, Wolf: *Status*, p. 191 may be consulted, although given that I do not find the referenced charges in the Wolf source, Aldag may be referring here to another of Violet's petitions.

> misdemeanours, Conditions, lives and Conversations, oppressions, affairs & Transactions, and under what privileges & by what authority, power or licence they do here within your dominion inhabit Commerce, Trade & Traffic & the like, by which means or by some such overtures and ways your Majesty may be ascertaind & satisfied of all their Transactions and hereby your Majesty may doubtless most legally fine, Tax, impose & compel them to pay what sums of money to your majesty as you please…[48]

Violet reserves special scorn for 'the late Usurper' Cromwell, who had received large sums from them and was not averse to bringing them into England in return for the revenue from customs duties. Violet also states that he had previously heard from Carvajal that Oliver Cromwell wanted to allow the settlement of 2,000 Jewish merchants in return for a payment of one million.[49]

Even this detailed pamphlet could not persuade Charles II to change his stance; on the contrary, we shall see how Judah's influence continued to grow in Restoration England.

Even before his return to England, Charles II had marriage plans. At first he had thought of marrying one of Cardinal Mazarin's nieces. After his ascension to the throne, the Spanish court recommended a Princess of Parma on his behalf. However, the French king wanted a marriage alliance with Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of John IV of Portugal, in order to bring Charles into the anti-Spanish front led by France. After long intrigues, the king was persuaded to marry Catherine. Most historical research sees her rich dowry as the main reason for his decision. This consisted of, among other things, the transfer of Tangier and the Seven Islands of Bombay, both of which were then Portuguese possessions, and a cash sum of 2 million crusados, which was probably equivalent to around £800,000 at the time.[50] Furthermore, free trade was guaranteed in Portugal and its colonies [Brazil and the Portuguese East Indies], an aspect in which the Jews in London were particularly interested, given that the business opportunities for their ethnic kin in Portugal were becoming increasingly limited due to the anti-Jewish movements there. As a result, these Jews emigrated more and more to London and then set sail as merchants under English names. We have no doubt that the Hebrews worked hard to establish this Portuguese alliance. This is confirmed by the fact that on the English side it was primarily General Monk and his Jewish friend Coronel who led the marriage negotiations.[51] Despite the persecution of the Marranos, the Portuguese court is also likely to have been significantly influenced by Jews because, despite all that had happened, the nobility and court there were still completely Jewish, as the following anecdote from the famed Marquis de Pombal (1699-1782) best illustrates:

> Joseph I. ordered that all Portuguese, who were in any way allied or descended from the Hebrew race, should wear a yellow hat. The old marquis shortly after appeared at court with three of them under his arm. The king, smiling, asked him, 'What he had to do with them?' He replied, 'That he had them in obedience to his majesty's command, for

48 Violet: *Petition*, p. 5. Translator's note: Quotation (verbatim but with updated spelling) from Wolf: *Status* p. 192.

49 Violet: *Petition*, p. 7. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source. I was unable to find any reference to this 'cash-for-Jews' deal in the petition reproduced in Wolf's *Status* appendix. A researcher with access to all of Violet's petitions, ideally in the original, should be able to clarify the matter.

50 Ranke: *History*, Vol. III, 345; Lingard, Vol IX, p. 68 ff.; Clark: *Later Stuarts*, p. 58; Chamberlayne: *Anglise Notitia*, p. 133 ff.

51 Wolf: *The Jew in Diplomacy*, p. 400; Margoliouth: *History*, Vol. II, p. 24. Translator's note: It should be stated that Coronel had already been baptised, and was now technically Christian at this point.

> he did not know a single Portuguese of note who had not Jewish blood in his veins.' But said the king, 'Why have you three?' He answered, 'One for myself, one for the inquisitor-general, and one in case your majesty should wish to be covered.'[52]

The number of Hebrews in the bride's entourage also shows that this anecdote does not unjustly highlight the Judaisation of the Portuguese court and nobility. This is explicitly emphasised by all Jewish writers who have dealt with this topic. Although there is no agreement about the individual names, there is no dispute over their large number or their influence on the queen and Charles II.[53] One was the queen's personal physician, while another served as chamberlain. A no lesser, and perhaps the most important role was played by several very rich Jews, principal among them two brothers, Duarte and Francisco da Silva, who were probably related to Dormido and, through him, to Menasseh ben Israel. Duarte da Silva had been a banker in Amsterdam for a long time and had been assigned to Catherine of Braganza's entourage by order of the King of Portugal. When the marriage contract was finalised, he was appointed Procurator of the Treasury to the King of Portugal.[54] As such, his powers were very extensive. Apparently the cash for the dowry had also been brought together by the Jews, a group of whom formed a veritable syndicate through which they were entirely responsible for the management of the enormous wealth fund, from which they must also have made large profits.[55] This, and some of their other activities, can be glimpsed from the entries that still exist in the state papers. From May to December 1662, we find numerous such references. On May 23rd, a warrant was issued to Duarte da Silva 'to pay to the Duke of York [the king's brother] 20,000*l.* out of the Queen's marriage portion.'[56] On June 6th and 10th, Duarte da Silva was ordered to transfer £16,000 from the account of 'the Queen's portion' to John Loving, a teller of the Exchequer.[57] On June 15th, da Silva was paid £1,000 from 'the Queen's dowry', a large sum for the time, which was probably counted as remuneration for his work.[58] Two further orders for withdrawals were made on June 22nd for a total amount of £24,000.[59] An indication that the Jews not only managed the queen's dowry, but probably also supplied the liquidity when required, comes an entry dated June 24th:

> Warrant to Don Duarte Da Sylva to pay to Alderman Backwell 53,700*l.* out of the Queen's dowry, for moneys advanced by him on security of the said portion.[60]

Alderman Backwell was one of the most important English bankers of the period. While surprisingly not a Jew himself, he mostly worked with Jews, as can be seen from his extant ledgers.[61] Payment instructions to da Silva can also be found on July 4th and August 13th.[62] Finally, we see more entries with similar content on December 4th and 10th. These entries are interesting

52 Lindo, p. 375. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
53 See especially: Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 18 ff.; Gaster, p. 97; Hyamson: *History*, p. 172; Picciotto, p. 44.
54 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, p. 380. Translator's note: This is the role title as it appears in the *Calendar*.
55 Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 20. Translator's note: The word 'syndicate' is that used in the original source.
56 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, p. 380. Translator's note: Quoted verbatim from original source.
57 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, pp. 400, 403.
58 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, p. 407.
59 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, pp. 415-6.
60 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, p. 418. Translator's note: Quoted verbatim from original source.
61 Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 19.
62 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, pp. 429, 459.

because, among the other recipients listed [the queen and John Harvey, her treasurer and receiver-general], on both occasions £500 was ordered to be paid to Duarte's brother, Francisco da Silva.[63]

It is therefore not difficult to determine how much the position of the Jews was strengthened by the Portuguese marriage. As the Jews acted as the queen's fund managers, Charles II, with his eternal need for money, was obliged to court their favour. In addition, other Hebrews in the queen's entourage ensured that the interests of their fellow kinsmen were not neglected. Meanwhile, the Jews who had fled Portugal for London were now, in their new guise as English merchants, able to trade with Portugal and its colonial empire unmolested, as Jewish historians triumphantly note.[64]

Indeed, Judah could be content with its position in England. Historiography has usually paid little attention to such events. Hopefully the world will soon see a new historiography which takes Jewish influence into account.

Charles II's loyalty to the Jews is also evident from the fact that, to a certain extent from 1663, and most certainly from 1664 onwards, Jews were able to practice their religion openly. This fact has given rise to a wide variety of theories.

As has already been stated, Wolf believes that a synagogue was already present in the earliest beginnings of Jewish settlement around 1660. Picciotto gives the earliest proven year for this, based on the 'earliest authentic record', as 1662,[65] while Wilfred Samuel, in his carefully researched, 161-page academic paper on the topic, puts it at 1657.[66] Yet others, such as Hyamson (before 1660)[67] Dr. Gaster (1664),[68] and Henriques (1662),[69] are more conservative in their estimates. We do not wish to comment in detail on this topic as it appears unimportant in the overall scheme of things, but for those interested, the cited historians have much to offer because their work is based on impeccable evidence from contemporary witnesses, documents and archeology. However, the key takeaway is that the emergence of a public synagogue is evidence of Charles II's general friendliness towards the Jews having progressed to such an extent that by 1663 the Jews no longer saw any danger in public worship.

After the City of London's petition was ignored in 1660, one would have thought that no further complaints against Jews would have been made, especially as Jewish influence continued to grow at court and elsewhere, but as early as 1664 the king had to intervene again on behalf of the Jews in his realm.

As far as we can tell from the Jews' first petition to King Charles II, which was a request for him to guarantee their safety in the kingdom, they must have feared measures from anti-Jewish circles. We learn that:

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63 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1661/62, pp. 581, 587.

64 Wolf: *Jewry*, p. 20. Translator's note: It should be noted that particular source does not reference the trading under English names, nor, in my opinion, does it have an air of triumphalism.

65 Picciotto, p. 30. Translator's note: Quoted element from original source.

66 Samuel, p. 3 ff.

67 Hyamson: *History*, pp. 168, 172, 176. Hyamson does not give the first year for what could be considered a secret synagogue, only indicating that it must have been in operation prior to 1660, as in that year, in year of the Restoration, all pretence at concealment was abandoned. He does however state that the first officially constituted synagogue, in Creechurch Lane, with a list of contributions by members, was not started until 1663, with the constitution (*ascamoth*), not formally published until April 5th, 1664.

68 Gaster, p. 7.

69 Henriques: *Return*, pp. 97-98.

> …they are dayly threatned by some with the seizure of all their estates & are told that both their lives & Estates are forfeited to your Majestie by the Lawes of your Kingdome and particularly they are molested and disquieted by one Mr. Richaut. And att the same time they were called by the Right Honourable the Earle of Berkshire who told them he had received a verball Order from your Majestie to Protect them and in case they doe not come to a speedy agreement with him he will endeavour and prosecute the seizure of their estates.
>
> Now for as much as your Petitioners are Ignorant of any Lawes now in force which should hinder their residence in this Kingdome. They most humbly beseech your Majestie that until they shall receive from your Majestie some significacion of your Royall pleasure that they should depart the Kingdome they may remaine heere under the like proteccion with the rest of your Majesties subjects And your Petitioners shall ever bee ready to serve your Majestie with their lives and fortunes.[70]

As the source material for this matter solely originates from the Jews, we are unable to get the other side of the story. In their comments on this matter, Wolf[71] and Hyamson[72] assume that it was individual actions by the Earl of Berkshire and Mr. Richaut, but this is refuted by the text of the Jewish petition itself. Firstly, the applicants say that ‘they are dayly threatned by some’ and then ‘particularly’ Mr. Richaut and the Earl of Berkshire. From this it follows that a number of people were involved, in which the two named were probably the leaders. Wolf describes the Earl of Berkshire's actions as ‘a bold piece of chantage’. He has no evidence for this, but simply relies on Dormido's knowledge of legal matters. It cannot be believed that a man of the rank of the Earl of Berkshire would dare to give himself royal authority, by pretending that he had received a verbal instruction from the king to act on his behalf. Not only did he belong to the high nobility, but he was also a royal chamberlain and a member of the Privy Council. On the other hand, if the Earl’s supposed claim of having received a royal order was actually true, it is difficult to understand what the Earl’s assigned role regarding the Jews was supposed to be. One explanation is that Charles II, for some reason, wanted to once more oblige the Jews to be feel grateful for their alleged protection, and therefore perhaps only gave the Earl of Berkshire the order as a symbolic gesture in this regard. If this is indeed the case, Berkshire may have been chosen for this role given that he was the second son of the Earl of Suffolk, who, as described in the previous volume, had caused the Jews to be expelled under James I. Another interpretation of this order would be that Charles II wanted to at least outwardly appease the anti-Jewish forces for a while. Our thesis is not necessarily refuted by the king's response of August 22nd, 1664 to the Jews' petition. It is true that in his response he did make the following statement:

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70 Gaster (p. 4) reproduces the document in full [a photograph of which is this volume’s cover illustration]. Translator’s note: Quotation reproduced verbatim as per original source (although with breviographs spelled out in full). I have also reproduced the second paragraph for readers to see the Jews’ most certainly mendacious assertion that they ‘are Ignorant of any Lawes now in force which should hinder their residence in this Kingdome’. As Gaster (p. 5) points out, the King’s administrative silence on this ‘bold assertion’ is taken by the Jews as a tacit and unassailable confirmation that they are correct. As Gaster concludes from this exchange: ‘Legally they felt themselves now absolutely safe, and they enjoyed, moreover, the open favour of the King.’

71 Wolf: *Jewry*, pp. 24-5.

72 Hyamson: *History*, pp. 172-3.

> His Majesty having considered this Peticion hath been graciously pleased to declare that hee hath not given any particular Order for the molesting or disquieting the Peticioners either in their Persons or Estates, but that they may promise themselves the effects of the same favour as formerly they have had, soe long as they demeane themeselves peaceably & quietly with the due obedience to his Majesties Lawes, & without scandall to his Government.

But what other response could reasonably have been expected from him?[73]

The Jew Dr. Moses Gaster has described Charles II's response as 'the fundamental Charter' which was 'the only instrument of royal protection and as the guarantee for the safety of the Jews in this land'.[74] Wolf, on the other hand, explains in detail how such a label was misleading and did not correspond to the facts. Rather, it was simply a written declaration of tolerance, a 'bald and colourless assurance' that was 'a personal continuation of Cromwell's personal "connivance," and nothing more'.[75] For the same reason, the descriptor 'The Act of Toleration', written on the cover of the document by an unknown synagogue member, was a misnomer.

Another attack against the Jews had been repelled, but the next one was not long in coming.

Just as news of Oliver Cromwell's friendliness towards the Jews had spread beyond England's borders, Charles II's reputation in this regard also appears to have been transnational. For example, for February 5th, 1666, we find the following entry in the *Calendar of State Papers*:

> Petition of Jean d'Illan, Jew of Amsterdam, to the King, for a pass for a Holland ship to transport himself and 50 families of Jews from Amsterdam to Palestine. God has at length begun to gather in his scattered people, having raised up a prophet for them; they will pray for His Majesty when they arrive at Jerusalem. [*French*.][76]

Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine how this French-language petition from a Dutch Jew came to be presented to the king of England. But there is no reason to assume that Charles II did not comply with the request.

The anti-Jewish forces did their utmost to combat rising Jewish power. On February 6th, 1671, they thought that they had might have found a new angle of attack when Parliament decided to appoint a committee 'to inquire into the Causes of the Growth of Popery; to prepare and bring in a Bill to prevent it; and also to inquire touching the Number of the *Jews*, and their Synagogues, and upon what Terms they are permitted to have their Residences here; and report it, with their Opinions, to the House…'.[77] But this initiative also came to nothing. The Committee's report of February 17th to Parliament dealt only with the causes of the growth of Catholicism and the measures deemed necessary to combat the problem. We no longer hear a single word about the Jewish Question, which can only be explained by the fact that the king and the Jews took care not to

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73 Gaster, pp. 4-5. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
74 Gaster, p. 3. Translator's note: Quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source.
75 Wolf: *Jewry*, pp. 26-28. Translator's note: Quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source.
76 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1665/66, p. 232.
77 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. IX, p. 198. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

let this matter, which was sensitive for both parties, be dealt with by an official body. Once again they had managed to divert Parliament's attention away from Jewish issues by means unknown to us. But we will soon see how it took all of the king's power to avoid dealing with the Jewish Question on a legal basis. The need for this would arise more quickly than expected.

In the winter of 1673, the leaders of the Jewish community were 'indicted of a riot at Guildhall, for meeting together for the exercise of their religion in Dukes Place'. The grand jury convened found the Jews guilty of the charges based on existing laws and sentenced them accordingly.[78] An English court had thus placed itself in opposition to the king's previous unlawful orders. The Jews realised that this time their situation was serious. It was no longer Parliament whose activities could be diverted from its duties through intrigues and secret influences with the help of the king, but an English court that had clearly spoken out against them. Their salvation could only come from the king.

The leaders of the Jewish community therefore immediately turned to Charles II with a petition. As justification, they referred to the king's aforementioned declaration of 1664, and pointed out that they had met the required requirements of his continued favour, namely, that they had continued to 'demean themselves peaceably and quietly, and without Scandal to the Government'. The Jews then gave the king what was effectively an ultimatum. He could either protect them, by having them 'reap the Fruits of his accustomed Clemency', or else 'give them a convenient time to withdraw their Persons and Estates into Parts beyond the Seas'. It is once again noticeable how the Jews combined humility with threats, since their leaving England would have meant great financial damage to Charles II. We already seen the same tactics from Menasseh ben Israel in the previous volume.

Was it the ultimatum presented in the petition, or were there other considerations and forces that influenced Charles II? It is impossible for us to know from our point in history. In any case, he chose the Jews against the law and the grand jury's decision. The following is a report of the king's response from his court at Whitehall on February 11th, 1674, when he himself was present in council:

> His Majesty in Council, taking this Matter into Consideration, was this Day pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, That Mr. Attorney-General do stop all Proceedings at Law against the Petitioners, who have been indicted, as aforesaid; and to provide, that they may receive no further Trouble in this behalf.[79]

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78 Webb, p. 39; Haggard, Vol. I, Appendix p. 2. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source [Haggard is a later reproduction of Webb]. Interestingly, similar Jewish riotous behaviour in Duke's Place, which took place just over a century later (1784) in celebration of Simchat Torah, led to a local Christian man, Porter Ridout, being set upon by a Jewish mob and robbed of a huge sum of money, which led to the death of a Jewish youth when the irate robbery victim fired his blunderbuss out of an upstairs window into the mob outside. Note that, while the jury found him innocent, the incident caused Ridout to have to sell up his coffee house and leave the area with his family. See Endelman, p. 218 for a fair overview. The Old Bailey proceedings can also be found online at: https://www.londonlives.org/browse.jsp?div=t17841020-1 and a genealogist also gives a description of the aftermath of the incident: https://the-ridouts.com/2013/04/16/jeremiah-porter-ridout-yellow-silk-shoes-and-blue-murder/. Contemporaneous press reports can also be found in online newspaper archives.

79 Webb, pp. 38-39; Haggard, Vol. I, Appendix pp. 2-3. Translator's note: Quotation and all previous quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source. It is clear from king's response that the king must have ordered a *nolle prosequi* [an order for the prosecutor to drop proceedings] which, as we shall see, is a recurring theme with Jewish petitions to the king.

What a decision by a king! Bear in mind that Charles II took a step against public opinion and the law of the land in favour of a small number of people of foreign origin, when it was even questionable if this did not violate the constitution – as even the Jew Henriques rightly noted. Henriques also deals with the 'somewhat remarkable' fact that no protest about the king's action was raised in either House, which he attributes, not without reason, to the fact that 'Parliament was prorogued within a fortnight of the issue of the Order in Council, which may not have been generally known till some time afterwards.'[80] It would appear that the Jews' allies in Parliament made sure to take care of the problem.

According to the English constitution, this order from the king had no legal force. But it was, however, fresh proof to the Jews that the king would protect them even in the face of the strongest attacks. So it is also understandable that immediately afterwards they felt confident enough to end the short lease they had on a small house which had served as a synagogue, and sign a new 25-year lease for a larger premises, with the lease set to expire in the year 1700.[81] Another consequence appears to have been the new wave of denization, with no fewer than 19 Jews becoming English denizens during this time. From the documentation that has survived, we can see that a total of 70 Jews were granted letters patent of denization during the reign of Charles II.[82]

In 1675 an incident occurred which was small but nevertheless significant. The king received a visit from a Jew from Holland, H. H. Jahacob Jeuda Leaõ, a Talmudic scholar who was given the surname Templo for his life-long interest in King Solomon's Temple. His detailed studies of the structure had led him to create models of the temple, the first of which he sold Queen Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I, probably on her visit to the Amsterdam synagogue in 1642. His 1675 trip to London was to show Charles II a second model of the temple, along with a printed plan. Templo was also skilled draftsman, with a particular interest in heraldry, and as such designed the Masonic coat of arms of the English Grand Lodge of Freemasons, which is still in use today.[83]

Charles II's favourable stance meant that mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe began as early as 1677. Apparently there were many poor people among them, as can be seen from the documents of the Jewish community that have survived to this day. For the first time Jews from Poland and Russia poured into England. This refutes the widespread view that the only real Jewish presence in England at that time was the supposedly more civilised Sephardim. Apparently the presence of these down-and-out Hebrews in London had already made an unpleasant impression on native Londoners, because the Court of Aldermen took measures to monitor and restrict Jewish immigration, with the decree that 'no Jews without good estate be admitted to reside or lodge in London or the liberties thereof'.[84] Nevertheless, the influence of the Jews in the city continued to grow. For September 26th, 1679, we find the following entry in state documents:

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80 Henriques: *Return*, p. 102. All quoted elements from original source.

81 Gaster, p. 7.

82 Webb, Appendix pp. 17-8. Translator's note: Aldag's text gave the number as 53 persons, however going back to the original source and counting the names, there are undoubtedly 70 in the list. Readers should also be aware that, although 'letters patent of denization' is the more common form, the term 'letters of denization' is also commonly used, as seen in the historical multi-volume work *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland*, which documents all of the foreigners who, from 1603 onwards, underwent this process.

83 De Mesquita: *Ancient Burial Ground*, p. 239.

84 Hyamson: *History*, p. 183. Wolf: *First Stage*, p. 123. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source (Wolf), and is likewise repeated in the same author's *A History of the Jews in England* (e.g. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941, p. 190).

> The East India Company, having several ships come home, began their sale as usual last week, but, because the Jews were engaged in their Feast of Tabernacles, it was adjourned, but is now begun again.[85]

It is something of a trope in Jewish history that, whenever the Jews enjoy the all of the protection and privileges of their host nation, they always turn popular sentiment against them through some despicable act. This is what happened in London in 1680. A certain Eve Cohen from a wealthy Jewish family in Holland had converted to Christianity and eloped to London with her brother's Christian servant. Her family stopped at nothing to bring her home. We have received a detailed account of this case from the noted Scottish philosopher and historian Gilbert Burnet. He tells us how the Jewish woman was 'daily in fear of her Life' during her flight from Holland to England because she was being followed by Jews, who pursued her all the way to London.[86] After first unsuccessfully trying to bribe the Lavignes, the couple with whom Eve was lodging, in an attempt to see Eve persuaded to return to Holland, the Jews hounding Eve then tried and failed to have her lover Michael Verboon arrested, in a bid to get him out of the way. However, they did achieve success in bribing a sergeant and a bailiff who, together with a certain Michael Levi, put Eve in the most unpleasant situation. Her mother having made a trumped-up claim of £2,000 against her, Eve was arrested and imprisoned under the laws of the time.[87] Her family then added three further spurious claims in a bid to strengthen their legal case, and to draw out the proceedings. However, when the Jews and their minions realised that they could not pursue their suit with the court in question, they had it referred to another court that seemed more favourable to them and which would also cause another delay, methods that are also known to us from the years prior to 1933. The Jews 'hoped now to have wearied the poor Prisoner out with Vexatious Suits and Delays'.[88] However, the jury saw the injustice, and Eve was released.

In the meantime, Eve's new husband tried to get justice for himself and his wife, but was no match for Jewish cunning and money-power, as Burnet himself notes:

> Mr. *Verboon* was advised to Arrest *Vandersee* [Eve's Jewish spurned suitor] for the false Imprisonment of his Wife; and on the 4th of *September* he Arrested him in an Action of 200*l.* which was not out of reason; but very modest for one that had suffered so many Arrests for great Sums, and all for nothing: but *Levi* soon bailed him: and so prevalent were the Arts and Presents of the Jews, that it was entered in the Books but 20*l.* So that whether they are Plaintiffs or Complainants, they are resolved to shew their skill; and perhaps have a secret Pleasure to let the World see how much their Practices can work on those who are called Christians; even in a Matter wherein the honour of Jesus Christ is so much concerned.

85 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1679/80, p. 253. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
86 Burnet, p. 5. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
87 Burnet, p. 13.
88 Burnet, p. 14-15. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source. These methods have become so common in our own recent years, to the point of prominent Jews now publicly boasting of using these methods to destroy their opponents, that the term 'lawfare' has entered common parlance.

Despite knowing from the previous trial that they would be shown that they had no case, Eve's family launched another lawsuit, so that, during the course of the English bailiffs' attempt to arrest her husband, Eve could be intimidated, perhaps even injured. As a result, Eve, who was now Eve Verboon, suffered a miscarriage. The author Burnet clearly believes that the overall plan was to make sure that she miscarried:

> But the Malice of the Jews stopt not here, for perceiving that Mistris *Verboon* was by her Marriage covered from all their Suits, they resolved on another way, which looks like a Design to destroy her.
>
> *Levi* had said before my Lord Mayor, that she was within two months of her time, and therefore he could not but believe she was with Child, and very capable of being frighted into Miscarriage.
>
> But it was a sure effect of their Revenge on her Husband, against whom *Vandersee* had expressed so much malice, that he hath often said he was resolved to kill him, though he should be hanged for it. So on the second of *October*, Mr. *Verboon* was Arrested in an Action of 200l. and it appears that the Bailiffs were again instructed to behave themselves with more than ordinary rudeness: one of them was *Benedict Helm*; there were others whose Names are not known. They came at Dinner time, when they might expect to find them at Dinner together: they seized upon him at Table, and dragged him forth with their utmost violence; which when Mistris *Lavigne* saw, and withal took notice of a Coach at the Door, she immediately reflected on the Trick that they had put on them before: and therefore ran to him, and clasped her Arms about his Waste, to keep him from being thrust into the Coach. The Bailiffs, to be revenged on her, beat and bruised her Head, Brest and Body, with the greatest fury; of which the marks appear yet on her: Her Head was broke in three places, and she was thereby, as the Chyrurgeon [surgeon] has certified under his hand, in great hazard of her Life; yet she clogged them so, that they could not get their Prisoner into the Coach…

At this point a crowd began to gather who, realising what was happening, bundled both Michael and Eve into a nearby alehouse, from whence Eve had them send for William, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, the cleric who had baptised her, knowing that he would have the power to stop the abduction attempt.

However, despite Mrs. Lavigne's injuries, it is Mrs. Verboon who suffered most from the ordeal:

> But though Mrs. *Lavigne* was forced to keep her Bed some time, by the Wounds and Bruises she received, yet this had a more fatal effect on poor Mistris *Verboon*; who when she saw the Bailiffs dragging her Husband, fell presently in a swoon; and being then young with Child, was so disordered by the fright, that she has not yet recovered it; but on the 9th day after she miscarried.[89]

89 Burnet, p. 19-21. Translator's note: All quotations reproduced verbatim from original source.

The Lord Bishop told the Lord Mayor of the City of London about the matter. The Lord Mayor then summoned Levi, who in this ‘Conspiracy of the Jews’ was Eve’s mother's ‘chief Contriver’. When he was interrogated, Levi admitted that it was all a ploy to force Mrs. Verboon to go back to her mother.[90] The mayor, supported by the public, threatened to punish the Jews if they did not fully compensate Eve for ‘the Costs and Trouble to which they had put her’. And if this was not carried out, the Lord Mayor assured him:

> …he would carry the Matter as far as the Law would allow him against their whole Sect: and though his time was near an end, yet he knew his Successour would pursue it with the same vigour, with which he was resolved to begin. He gave also order to some to bring him an Extract of the Laws against the Jews.[91]

Unfortunately, today it is no longer possible to determine what action, if any, was taken. Moreover, it is likely that any action would not have progressed beyond the initial stages due to certain influences at court, a thesis which is supported by the fact that nothing more is known about the case.

From Lord Anglesey’s letter to the king's secretary dated August 6th, 1680, which is still extant, we can see that there were indeed members of the English establishment who wanted to significantly restrict Jewish rights. Apparently there were two audiences with the king on this matter, with Sir Peter Pett also going to the trouble of examining old documents which dated prior to 1290 and lecturing on them to the king, which shows that with anti-Jewish appeals there was a tendency to recall certain pre-Expulsion legal restrictions. Lord Anglesey proposed that Sir Peter Pett should be the first Justiciary of the Jews, and also suggested that Jewish leaders should be invited to discuss, among other things, what special taxes the Jews would be willing to pay for permission to trade, residence rights and other privileges in general. Apparently, all things considered, it would appear that the plan was for the introduction of a type of Ghetto system, which was the prevailing system on the European continent at the time. The clergy were also interested in this new scheme and were represented in this matter by the Bishop of Lincoln.[92]

It is clear then that important figures of the time had taken up the anti-Jewish cause, but the secret pro-Jewish forces still proved to be stronger. Anglesey’s proposals were submitted to the Privy Council for consideration, but nothing more was heard about the matter. We can only agree with the Jew Wolf in his conclusion when he triumphantly remarks that ‘powerful influences seem to have been brought against it, and it was happily dropped’.[93] He most likely means that the Jews subsidised the king, who was always in financial difficulties.

We also agree with various Jewish scholars[94] that the entire historical evolution of Jewry in England would have taken a completely different path if this plan had succeeded. The Jews in England were ahead of their racial brethren on the European continent by almost two hundred years. Although their rights were sometimes limited, in general all options were open to them, including intermarriage.

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90 Burnet, pp. 19-22. Translator’s note: All quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source.
91 Burnet, p. 23. Translator’s note: Quotation and quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
92 Wolf: *Status*, pp. 192-3.
93 Wolf: *Status*, p. 185. Translator’s note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
94 Wolf: *Status*, p. 185; also Wolf: *Whitehall Conference*, p. 280; Roth: *New Light*, pp. 134-5.

The reign of King Charles II came to an end without any notable cases arising as a result of the Jewish Question. He died on February 6th, 1685; even his Jewish personal physician was unable to cure him of his illness.[95]

Charles was succeeded to the throne by his brother James II, whose reign lasted only eight years. As was the case after Oliver Cromwell's death, as soon as James II took office, anti-Jewish forces clamoured to find out the new king's position on the Jewish Question.

In the interest of providing a complete narrative of events, we must also discuss an event from 1672, when the 'alien duty', which was such an important issue for the Jews, was abolished under Charles II. This tax became a huge bone of contention under James II and also in the first years of the reign of his successor, William III. The 'alien duty', or 'aliens duty' as it is sometimes rendered, can be explained as follows:

From the earliest times, foreigners [also known historically as 'strangers' or 'aliens'] had to pay surcharges on all of the king's taxes. For example, the goods of foreign merchants, regardless of whether they were exported or imported, were subject to special public taxes,[96] which the foreigners could not escape by being granted patents of naturalisation by the king – even though this had often been allowed to happen with the Jews under Charles II.

When Charles II was crowned King of England in 1660, a law was passed to regulate his income from taxes. This law, known as the Great Statute [12 Car. II. c. 4], was only effectively repealed in 1785. According to this legislation, the king was given, among other things, the income from the so-called alien duty to freely dispose of. If the 'merchant alien' (or 'merchant stranger' as he was also known in the literature) did not pay this duty properly, the goods in question were liable to forfeiture. One half of the value of these goods was paid over to the Crown, the other half to the informer.[97]

It should also be said that this alien duty represented a good source of income for those entitled to it. In addition, the English merchants made sure that it was raised, as this was one of the main ways in which the competition from foreigners was made more tolerable. So it is not surprising that this tax existed as far back as the reign of King Henry VII.

It is all the more strange then that in the official statute book we find a law from 1673 [25 Car. II. c. 6] that fundamentally abolishes these tax regulations and stipulates that both denizens and aliens would pay the same taxes on the exportation of native commodities and manufactures as 'the naturall-borne Subjects' [i.e. native Englishmen]. An exception remained only for the export of coal.[98] Of course, this statute was also sanctioned by Parliament, for unknown reasons. This change of policy appears all the more incomprehensible when one considers that English trade, whose representatives were also present in the House of Commons, was significantly affected by the repeal of this tax. We tried hard to find out the reasons behind this Parliamentary approval, but all research was in vain. The press of the time provided no information, and the official reference works of the period were also silent. Unfortunately, all we are left with is guesswork. Henriques believes that the

95 De Mesquita: *Ancient Burial Ground*, pp. 241-2.
96 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), p. 58.
97 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), pp. 59-60.
98 *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. V. p. 791-2. Translator's note: Quoted element from original source. Readers may be interested to know that an extra clause was made for English-caught fish, which was also open to global free trade. Note also that Aldag's text gives the year as 1672, as per Henriques, but the regnal year of the statute itself shows that the law dates to 1673. The text has been updated accordingly.

law was passed ‘for the public good’, in order to encourage the export trade.[99] This view cannot be correct, since the English public in particular was never in agreement, as shall be seen from the incidents that took place during the reigns of James II and William III.

We are of the opinion that the law was changed for other reasons, which are the following:

Through the aforementioned Great Statute, Charles II was declared to be the recipient of this alien duty. So the decision to abolish the alien duty, the profits from which were seen as his personal privilege, may have been seen as largely his prerogative. It would make sense then that, if it were deemed a matter for Court rather than Parliament, that the king might have been persuaded to advocate for a tax regime that was favourable to the Jews. For is it not reasonable to assume that Charles II in particular could have been persuaded to abolish all alien duties in return for financial compensation from the Jews? One objection to this might be that not only the Jews, but also other foreigners benefitted from this abolition, which is basically true. But perhaps Charles II was willing to accept this in order to favour Jewish interests.[100] The law of 1673 expressly stated that denizens and aliens would have to continue to pay export tax on coal. However, this special regulation was of no particular interest to the Jews, as the coal trade was not in their hands.[101]

There may also be an explanation for Parliament's stance on this issue. In period leading up to 1858 we will see how that the English populace and the English Parliament very often have completely opposite views on the Jewish Question. The people's representatives are for the most part apparently under some kind of influence to pursue pro-Jewish policies without regard to the will of their voters. This influence would appear to involve bribery. Even at this time, the members of the English Parliament were by no means free from this type of corruption. As is well known to historians, the process for even getting into Parliament itself was fraught with corruption, hence the records of House of Commons debates about the problem of members only getting into Parliament by means of buying voters.[102] And, as it may well be argued, anyone who can stoop to bribery is also likely to allow himself to be bribed. Just a few years earlier, in 1662, large amounts of money had been used to persuade Parliament to take a certain position. Louis XIV of France ‘offered Charles a considerable sum of money to purchase votes in the parliament’ in favour of a Portuguese match, while the Spanish ambassador did not shy away from distributing money to parliamentarians in a bid to persuade them to side with Spain’s choice of a Protestant bride.[103] When this was standard practice, why would the Jews not also opt for this means of influence?

When James II took office, various tax revenues were expressly transferred to him by an act of Parliament.[104] Among other things, the act in question [1 Jac. II. c. 1] referred to income under the Great Statute [12 Car. II. c. 4], but the amendatory act of 1673 [25 Car. II. c. 6] was not mentioned. Given the omission of the 1673 act, the common interpretation was that it had been tacitly repealed, in other words, that the alien duty was once again in full vigour.[105] The Jews must have immediately made representations about this issue to James II, because as soon as the law

99 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), p. 60. Translator’s note: Quoted element from Henriques.
100 Tovey p. 287. Translator’s note: This reference appears to be incorrect, given that it refers to James II’s time.
101 Cunningham: *Growth*, Vol. I (The Mercantile System), p. 247.
102 Cobbett: Vol. V, p. 434 ff. Translator’s note: For those unfamiliar with the topic, historical electoral corruption was so notorious in England that the terms ‘pocket borough’ and ‘rotten borough’ have entered the popular lexicon.
103 Lingard, Vol. IX, pp. 71-72. Translator’s note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
104 *Statute of the Realm*, Vol. VI, p. 1
105 See also Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), p. 61.

came into force, the king declared through a letters patent that the alien duty would remain repealed, and a *nolle prosequi* declared by the Attorney General regarding the back taxes that were due.[106]

Now the City of London tried to persuade the James II to change his mind. However, their efforts and general displeasure made no impression on the king, and his original order remained in place.[107] This is all the more surprising given that the City had warned him of how even a partial remission of the alien duty:

> …is a Publick Damage to the Interest of Your Majesty's Kingdoms, and a Diminution of Your Revenue, and the Trade of Your *English* Merchants, and a Means to transplant that, and the Mysteries of our Artificers into the Hands of Foreigners, to the Ruin, not only of the Trading and Working People at Home, but also of the several *English* Factories Abroad.

Even the fact that the petition bore the signatures of 65 of the most respected English merchants, at least eight of whom were Knights of the Realm, did not change the king's position. Other separate petitions from the famous trading companies the Hamburg Company and the Eastland Company, as well as additional petitions from the merchants of the west of England and the merchants of the north suffered the same fate.[108] The number and economic power of the petitioners was certainly superior to the Jews, as they included almost all of the important English merchants. Notwithstanding, the king decided in favour of the Jews.

The dispute over the alien duty was to flare up again with a vengeance in the first years of William III's reign. Before we get into that, however, let us conclude the reign of James II with the following conflict related to the Jewish Question.

As mentioned in the previous volume, there was a statute from the time of Queen Elizabeth, the 1581 Act of Persuasions, that threatened significant financial penalties for failure to attend Christian services.[109] This regulation was by no means repealed, but had largely fallen into disuse in later decades. In the autumn of 1685, a certain Thomas Beaumont resorted to this law and brought charges against 48 Jews for violating the aforementioned statute. He even had 37 of them arrested as they were plying their trade at the Royal Exchange. The Jews saw that they could achieve nothing by resorting to the courts because the measures were based on existing laws. They therefore chose the well-trodden path of appealing personally to the king. In a petition to him, they again referred to Charles II's 1673 decision and pointed out that the prerequisite required for his royal pleasure – the Jews remaining quiet, true and faithful to the government – had been adhered to by them. The arrest had caused great damage to their reputation both domestically and abroad. At the end of their petition they asked for 'the benefit of the free exercise of their religion', a request which would logically mean that the charges would be dropped.

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106 Tovey, pp. 287, 291, 294. Translator's note: According to Tovey [p. 294], the Order of Council reversing the alien duty was dated 22nd January, 1685, [?] and came 'upon the Petition of divers Merchants of the City of London'.

107 Margoliouth: *Anglo-Hebrews*, p. 46. Translator's note: Margoliouth also reveals that, in their efforts to get the alien duty remitted, the Jews had enlisted the help of several 'influential and liberal Englishmen, Baronets' to petition the king on their behalf. Tovey (p. 287) reveals that one of these was Sir Peter Vandeput.

108 Tovey, pp. 287-288. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

109 Henriques: *Return*, pp. 105-6. Translator's note: The fine was a ruinous £20 per month.

Just like his brother Charles II, James II issued a former Order in Council, this time on November 13th, 1685:

> …his Majesty having taken this Matter into his Royal Consideration, was pleased to order, and it is hereby accordingly ordered, That his Majesty's Attorney-General do stop all the said Proceedings at Law against the Petitioners; his Majesty's Intention being, that they should not be troubled upon this Account, but quietly enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, whilst they behave themselves dutifully and obediently to his Government.[110]

Was it again the 'powerful influences', to use Wolf's words, that induced Charles II to scupper the anti-Jewish initiatives of 1680? We have no reason to believe otherwise.

The fact that James II also favoured the Hebrews is clear from the fact that in the first four years of his reign no fewer than 34 Jews were naturalised[111] – a relatively high number even compared to the awards made under Charles II.

Thus we have seen that Charles II and James II were more concerned with the interests of the Jews than with those of their own subjects. It should be obvious to any clear-eyed person that this servitude did not go without services in return. The Jews' services most likely consisted of payments, since both rulers were constantly in need of money. It is worth mentioning in passing that these monarchs did not hesitate to accept annual payments of up to £100,000 from King Louis XIV of France in order to prevent any anti-French policy from Parliament.[112] So if these kings accepted money from foreign rulers to suppress the will of the English people, why would they not also demand and pocket money from the Jews for the same purpose?

110 Haggard, Vol. I, Appendix, p. 3; Webb, pp. 39-40. Translator's note: Quotation and previous quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source (Webb, but Haggard is faithful later reproduction of Webb).
111 Webb, Appendix, pp. 18-9.
112 Clark, pp. 82 ff.; 125.

Other Allies of the Jews: James II and William III

At the end of 1688, James II hastily departed from England. William III stood at the gates of London and entered the capital immediately after James II had fled. We know that William had had to equip a large expeditionary force for his operations. According to Jewish historians, the money for this was mainly provided by Jews. The financing was then in the hands of the Jewish banker Francisco Lopez Suasso, who later settled in England. The money was probably not paid directly to William III, but to the Dutch state. If this is true, then the amount given by the Jews may be related to the £600,000 that the English government later paid to Holland for the expedition.[113] The Jewish historian Moses Margoliouth provides precise information about this, but without naming his sources.

According to Margoliouth's account, William III's preparations for the expedition to England were at a standstill for want of funds. While he was desperately looking for a way out of his predicament, an Amsterdam Jew was brought into his presence, who bore the Prince of Orange some very welcome news:

> My Lord, you are in want in money to accomplish a great national project; I have brought you, from our people, two millions [probably guilders]. If you succeed you will refund them to me; if you fail, we are quits.[114]

Margoliouth proudly remarks: 'It was naturally to be expected that many Hebrew merchant-princes should have settled in this country, where a sovereign reigned who was indebted to Hebrew gold for his royal diadem.'[115]

After James II's flight to Ireland, a transitional law regarding tax collection was passed by Parliament. This stipulated that the tax regulations as under Charles II and James II should be maintained until they could be formally reassessed.[116] In the absence of any explicit mention of the 1673 law of Charles II, this would have meant the revival of the alien duty, which had only been repealed by the royal decree of James II in 1685. With the latter's flight, however, this decree ceased to be valid and the pre-1673 situation was thus restored.

A customs officer named Thomas Pennington took this legal stance when he arrested a number of Jews on January 30th, 1689 on the grounds that they had not paid the alien duty that had become due again after the abdication of James II.[117] This was not a high-handed action by an individual official, as the accounts of Jewish historians would have us believe,[118] but rather an action that was initially approved by King William III. Pennington, with the support of a Treasury official (or 'Lord of the Treasury', to use Tovey's phrase), had informed the king of the legal situation. He had further pointed out that the express privilege of exemption from alien duty, as was

113 Picciotto, pp. 52-3; Hyamson: *History*, p. 188; Margoliouth: *History*, Vol. II, pp. 40-3; *Anglo-Hebrews*, p. 47 ff.
114 Margoliouth: *History*, Vol. II, p. 41. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. The same quotation is also found in the same author's *Anglo-Hebrews*, p. 48 and *Pilgrimage*, Vol. II, p. 229.
115 Margoliouth: *Anglo-Hebrews*, p. 47. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. A paraphrased quotation is also found in the same author's *History*. Vol. II, p. 43.
116 *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. VI, p. 71.
117 *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Vol. 22, p. 35; Tovey, p. 288 ff.
118 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), p. 62; Hyamson, *History*, pp. 185-6.

stated in various Jews' letters patent of denization, did not change the general legal situation. The personal exemptions in question would have lost their legal validity after the death of Charles II or the abdication of James II. Pennington was able to convince the king that the Jews had violated the law and that as a result the goods in question would have to be forfeited and they would have to pay further fines. They would also have to pay an amount of £58,000 in back taxes which had arisen and become due since December 11th, 1688. The king gave Pennington a free hand within the limits of the law, and so the arrested Jews awaited trial before the appropriate court. But once again the case would not get far.

The Jews and their friends had of course not remained inactive as the crisis unfolded. Firstly, the prisoners sent a petition to the king asking for their release from prison and for a discontinuation of proceedings. They justified their petition by saying that their letters of denization and thus also their exemption from paying alien duty were in force. At the same time they invoked the law of 1673 and the Order in Council of 1685.[119] It is striking that they too found the latter justifications to be quite weak and therefore relied more on the former argument. Along with this petition, the Jews made every possible effort to influence the courtiers and the customs officials in their bid to get a *nolle prosequi* [an order to drop the case]. The means of this influence was probably the usual one: money. On such occasions there are usually no witnesses and so the details do not come to light. Both parties have the same interest in remaining silent, and on such occasions the historical researcher is dependent on evidence or conclusions that are described as absurd or biased by those interested in pushing a particular narrative. In order not to leave ourselves open to such points of attack, we are therefore careful to refrain from such speculation; rather, when dealing with such incidents, we rely, as far as possible, on the views of Jewish historians, who can hardly be accused of an anti-Jewish bias. But here the events are such that the outcome of the matter can only be explained by bribery on the part of the Jews.

In any event, the case against the Jews was not progressing very well. Pennington – relying on his king's instructions and the laws of the land – grew impatient. He made a submission to the Privy Council, which had to decide on the Jews' petition, and asked that the inquiry continue. In particular, he repeatedly sought the right not only for his own petition against the Jews to be heard before any decision was made, but also that he be given the floor as a representative of the state. His efforts were in vain however. The matter was dealt with over nine days, but Pennington, as the authority's main representative, was not heard from once, nor was any debate admitted. And as under Charles II and James II, the Privy Council, now chaired by William III, came to a decision that was incompatible with both the law and the wishes of the people: a *nolle prosequi* was issued. In the relevant Order of Council of February 26th, 1689, no justification is given for this decision, despite the extensive length of the text. Rather, the decision can be summed up in the Order's final few lines:

> …His Majesty taking the whole Matter into Consideration, was graciously pleased this Day in Council, to order, That Sir *George Treby*, His Majesty's Attorney General, do cause *Noli Prosequis* to be forthwith entred upon the said Informations, or any others that shall be brought against the Petitioners upon the like Account, it being His Majesty's Pleasure, that they enjoy the full Benefit of their respective Letters Patents.[120]

119 Tovey (pp. 290-2) reproduces this petition in full. See also Picciotto, pp. 48-9.

120 Tovey, p. 292. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source, which reproduces the full Order in Council.

It should be borne in mind that, with this decision, King William III was giving up thousands of pounds of annual income. Most importantly, this decision cannot be reconciled with his initial stance, especially since at the time he had ‘vowed that he would not abate the Jews of threepence of what was due to himself’.[121] The whole nature of the proceedings, particularly the treatment of Pennington, is also very strange. Is it not it therefore reasonable to assume that William III was compensated accordingly in the form of a severance payment when he gave up this high annual income? Once again we see how the resources of the Jews are strong enough to persuade even a king of England to make such decisions.

121 Tovey, p. 289; Picciotto, p. 48. Translator’s note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from Picciotto.

Another Battle

The English merchants were angry at this order from their king and openly admitted that only bribery could have brought about such a result. This is conveyed to us in particular by the philo-Semitic D'Blossiers Tovey, who would certainly have known fellow Englishmen from that time and who thus passed on an impeccable report to posterity less than forty years after the event (1738):

> … the Merchants complain'd that nothing but Bribery from the Jews, cou'd have obtain'd such an Order, so contrary to the publick Interest of the English Natives…[122]

Even Jewish historians seem to want to admit that bribery took place. James Picciotto, writing in 1875, cannot seem to be able to resist boasting of his nation's power in England at that time:

> Nevertheless, the Jews had so much influence at Court and among the Commissioners of Customs, that for a long time they baffled all the efforts of their enemies. They succeeded in procuring an order of Council, not only against the information brought by Mr Pennington, but against all others that should be brought against their nation on the same grounds.[123]

However, the anti-Jewish faction did not immediately give up, but continued to fight for their rights and what they believed to be their vital economic interests. In a detailed petition, they made the customs authorities aware that the king would forfeit over £40,000 by not prosecuting the Jews' previous customs offences. In addition, by abolishing the alien duty, at least another £10,000 would be lost every year, which English taxpayers would later have to pay in the form of property taxes. The Jews were not burdened with this, due to a lack of property, and would therefore greatly benefit from this change of tax regime. The balance of trade would also be affected, and the Jews, 'by Virtue of such illegal Clauses', would be 'let loose to over-run the Trade of the English merchants, both at Home and Abroad'. Furthermore, given his current constitutional position, the king had no right to intervene in prosecutions with orders of *Nolle Prosequi*, which, the merchants argued:

> …were a mere Snare for the Legal Prosecutors whether publick Officers or Others; for instead of reaping that Benefit which the Law design'd them, they were almost ruin'd by the Charge of preparing the Suits, which were discontinu'd without any Fault of theirs.[124]

Again the Jews did everything they could to prevent the petition from being approved. But this time all of their efforts appear to have been in vain. The pressure from the people must have

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122 Tovey, p. 290. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

123 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), p. 63. Picciotto, p. 48. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

124 Tovey, pp. 290-2. Translator's note: All quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source.

been very strong, because William III repealed his previous order on October 14th, 1690. The content of it clearly shows that, in the opinion of the Crown's lawyers, when both he and James II took office, the alien duty had been revived, and William III's previous decree was not valid. The authorities in question were therefore instructed to collect the alien duty exactly as they had at the demise of King Charles I.[125]

The English merchants were naturally very satisfied and thanked the king for his decision. We can only guess at the reasons for the king's change of heart, even though it was a perfectly legal decision. Was it the customs officials demanding that the law be properly applied? This seems hardly likely – as we saw with Thomas Pennington, the customs men had been unable to assert their will with the authorities. Had the king initially accepted the compensation or bribe from the Jews, and now, after receiving it, unscrupulously retreated back to the letter of the law? Perhaps. However, there is more evidence to suggest that he took the entire situation into account, particularly his desire to collect more revenue in order to continue waging his wars against Ireland and France. Above all, he hoped to be able to raise a larger loan from the City of London for this purpose.[126] The Jews had shown themselves very disinclined to lend the money required, as can be seen in the report of a letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to the Lord Mayor of London dated February 10th, 1690. In it, the Earl of Shrewsbury expresses his displeasure at the fact that the Jews, despite their flourishing trade in England, which they only carried on 'under favour of the Government', did not feel great desire to 'support that Government' by subscribing to the government loan. Negotiations had already been held with Jewish leaders and they had been asked whether they did not want to make some money available to pay for the army bread deliveries made by 'one of their brethren' Mons. Pereyra. They only offered the amount of £12,000, 'below what his Majesty expected from them'. As a consequence, the earl, on behalf of the king, now asked him – the mayor – to send for the Jewish elders and principal merchants:

> …to let them understand the obligations they are under to his Majesty for the liberty and privileges they enjoy, and how much it is to their advantage to make suitable returns of affection and gratitude for the kindness they have received and may expect. And since the money demanded carries with it more than the ordinary interest allowed, it was supposed they would, without difficulty, raise among them 30,000*l*., or if not that amount, that they could not propose less than 20.000*l*…[127]

We do not know whether and what amount the Jews handed over in the end. It is also not known why they had been hesitant to lend money to the king. Perhaps the 7% interest rate was too low for them.[128] In any case, their attitude shows that there had been a deterioration in the good

125 Tovey, pp. 294-5. Translator's note: Bear in mind that under the common perception of the law at the time, the alien duty was only to apply to foreign-born Jewish merchants. Their sons, if born in Britain, would (under this opinion) fall under the feudal principle that all persons born in any of the King's dominions owe allegiance to the king, and would therefore be natural-born British subjects. However, this idea of *jus soli* was strongly contested by the anti-Jewish forces, who correctly saw the medieval status of Jews as still technically in force, as the civil status of Jews *qua* Jews had never been legally updated since then. See Henriques: *The Jews and the English Law*, p. 233; the appendix of the next volume, and Romaine: *An Answer,* p. 2 ff., for both sides of the controversy.

126 Clark, pp. 174-5.

127 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1689/90, p. 453. Translator's note: Quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source. Readers may be forgiven for feeling some of the medieval echos of Volume 1 in this passage.

128 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (I) p. 49.

relations between the king and the Jews, although it was probably only temporary. It may also have been a factor in the King's decision nine months later to reinstate alien duty, especially since he had to rely on the City's funds for raising his loans and it was therefore better for him to be on good terms with the English merchants.[129] Incidentally, it is worthy of note that once again – as under Cromwell – we find a Jew in an apparently prominent position among the army contractors.

Along with these battles over the alien duty, further disputes took place over the Jewish Question.

As has already been touched on, William III's first priority was to find the necessary funds for the reconquest of Ireland – which was still defended by James II – and for the war against France. Bonds had little chance of success, and so new taxes had to be levied. A committee was appointed by Parliament to find the means to add £2 million to the public revenue.[130] It was believed that this sum, which was considerable at the time, could partly be collected by introducing a poll tax and a one-off special tax on the Jews amounting to £100,000.[131] Under this new system, the Hebrews would have had to pay twice, as they too were to be included in the poll tax. It was expressly mandated that they should contribute the amount of £10 per head,[132] while other taxpayers in general were to be divided into different classes according to their rank and wealth. A comparison between both groups shows that the Jews were valued quite highly. The poll tax raised £288,000.[133] The following year, Parliament approved another poll tax. The Jews were divided into merchants and brokers. The former were liable for £20 and the latter £5, which meant that Jewish merchants were assessed on the same level as barons and bishops, while Jewish brokers were assessed as equal to doctors, priests and lawyers. Furthermore, the rest of the Jews had to pay the amount of 10 shillings when they reached the age of 16.[134]

However, the passing of the special tax on the Jews encountered considerable difficulties, mainly due to the fact that the Hebrews tried to prevent the introduction of the tax using all means at their disposal. On November 19th a petition from the Jews was formally presented to the House by Mr. Paul Foley, MP,[135] before the first reading of the bill had taken place, a highly irregular if not unprecedented action which immediately resulted in a protest being raised by other members. When the Speaker of the House joined in this protest, the petition was refused. The petition is not included in the *Commons Journals*; we only find an indication from *Cobbett's Parliamentary History* that some members raised their objections to the petition being submitted to the House. As this opinion prevailed [as per the rules of the House], there was no inclusion of the petition, nor the debate around admitting it, in the *Commons Journals* at all.[136] At the same time, the Jews had spread a rumour that when the tax was imposed they would leave the country and go to Holland. We see this in the *Calendar of State Papers*, in the entry for the 12th of November:

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129 Acres, Vol. I. p. 7.
130 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. X, p. 279.
131 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. X, p. 281.
132 *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. VI, p. 65.
133 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, Appendix 19, p. 241.
134 *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. VI, p. 158.
135 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 444.
136 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, pp. 444-5. Translator's note: Protests came from the fact that not only was it unheard of to present a petition before a debate, but because it was against the then rules of Parliament to allow petitions against taxes, a rule which remained unchanged until 1842. Readers may like to weigh these complaints against Mr. Foley's statement made in the Jews' defence: 'I think that, for the honour of the house, you are to hear what they will say. Where you lay a general tax on the whole kingdom, you can receive no Petition against it, because all are represented here, but when there is a particular tax on men, they may petition.'

> News letter. The Jews will rather remove their effects into Holland than pay the imposition which Parliament has designed to lay upon them, which is 100,000*l*. sterling to carry on the war; that next year the rest of the 1,400,000*l.* to be raised by a subsidy of the 2*s.* in the pound of all lands, and double of those that refuse the new oath of allegiance and supremacy.

This is how the rumour was reported by Narcissus Luttrell (1657-1732):

> The 11th, the Jews petitioned the house of commons to be eased in the new tax, setting forth they cannot pay the 4th part of the 100,000*l.* imposed on them, and that if they have no redresse they must be forced to leave the kingdome.[137]

One can imagine that this threat would have had a great impact in political and commercial spheres.

However, despite the petition's absence in official sources, Henriques believes he has discovered a copy,[138] which, judging from the document's contents, points to him being correct.

The content of the petition is very interesting. First we find a brief summary of the history of the Jews since Cromwell. It then points out the great importance that they have for the English economy despite their relatively small number. They:

> …do drive a considerable Trade, exporting great Quantities of the Woollen manufactures of this Nation, and importing vast Quantities of Gold, and Silver, and other Foreign Staple Merchandizes, which do greatly Enrich the Nation, and encrease the Revenue of the Customs, insomuch that one of the said Families alone hath since the Restauration paid about Two Hundred Thousand Pounds for Customs…

Furthermore:

> …the Market for Diamonds in the *East Indies* was formerly at *Goa* (belonging to the *Portuguese*) and by the means and industry of the Jews the Market hath been brought to the English Factories, and by that means *England* has in a manner the sole management of that precious Commodity, and all Foreigners bring their Monies into this Kingdom to purchase the said Diamonds.

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137 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1689/90, p. 318; Luttrell, Vol. I, p. 603. All quotations reproduced verbatim from original sources. Note also the double tax on those who will not swear the new oath of allegiance and supremacy, which would include the Jews. It should also be noted that the threat of the Jews removing their assets or persons to Holland did not feature in the petition itself. In addition, Luttrell states that the petition was introduced to Parliament even earlier than the 19th, but gives no other evidence to substantiate this claim.

138 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (I), p. 41 ff. Translator's note: Henriques' paper contains all of the information from the sources mentioned, plus a reproduction of the petition in full.

The next point was the fifth of the nine points raised in the petition:

> 5. That all the Jews together are not by much worth the Hundred Thousand Pounds designed to be raised upon them; even if all they have abroad should come safe to their Hands, without suffering Equal Losses at Sea with those of this year, and consequently it cannot be supposed that the Honourable House of Commons will go about utterly to destroy a People that have always lived Peaceably, Quietly, and Dutifully, under the Established Government; which will certainly be their Case if this Tax proceed.

The opportunity is taken, in points seven and eight, to dispel certain ideas held by some of the English populace regarding the Jews residing in England:

> 7. And forasmuch as it is believed by some Persons, that the *Jews* did offer a very great Sum of Money to *Oliver Cromwell* for their Establishment in this Kingdom, They do solemnly declare, they are altogether Strangers to it, and utterly deny it; And that they never gave, or offered either of the two last Kings, any Sums of Money for their Liberties, or upon any such like account whatsoever.
>
> 8. And Whereas the *Jews* are informed, that there is a rumour goes about, That what these are not able to pay, the *Jews* in other Parts will make up, looking upon them all to make but one Body, though at never so great a distance from each other: They humbly take leave to represent, that in Truth every one particular Man among them subsists of himself, without dependance on any other; And that they cannot expect any Assistance, or Relief from any other place whatsoever: But instead thereof, those abroad will certainly withdraw their Effects, and Correspondencies, and never be concerned any more with them; which will be their utter ruine, and Destruction of them.[139]

The first thing one notices about the petition's content is the Jews' objection to the apparently widespread assumption that world Jewry would give them assistance to pay the £100,000. Apparently the solidarity of Jews from all countries was already recognised in certain places, which the Jews themselves indirectly confirm by saying at one point in the petition [start of point six]: '…the *Jews* being a Nation that cannot lay claim to any Country…'. Henriques, who seems embarrassed by this remark, tries to deflect from the truth of this phrase with the somewhat disingenuous argument that the word 'nation' had a different meaning at that time than it does today:

> It is further to be remarked that though they call themselves a nation – a word which at that time had not the definite meaning it has since assumed – they expressly declare that they lay claim to no country of their own, and that so long as they receive toleration and

139 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (I), pp. 44-6. Translator's note: All quotations reproduced verbatim from original source.

> protection they intend to remain in the country which accords them these boons and accept it as their own.[140]

After admittance of the petition was summarily rejected at the parliamentary session on November 19th, the next debate was postponed to December 30th. No record could be found of any specific debate having taken place, although the following short entry for December 30th was found in the *Commons Journal*:

> A Bill for laying a Tax upon the *Jews* of One hundred thousand Pounds, was read the First time.
>
> *Resolved*, That the Bill be read a Second time.[141]

As is often the case, the official record then goes silent. This time, unlike previous occasions, the first reading had taken place on the bill, but this did not change the fact that everything that could be dangerous to the Hebrews eventually disappears without trace into obscurity. Of course, the Jews and their allies also consider how best to explain the abandonment of the bill, without, however, arriving at a particular view. There had been enough time to pass the bill into law as Parliament sat in almost uninterrupted session until January 27th. The need to have funds to continue the war was more than urgent. In addition, the Jews had clearly expressed in their petition how rich they were. If the king hadn't wished to collect the entire amount, he could have at least started with a partial amount. Macaulay, who campaigned heavily for Jewish emancipation at the beginning of the 19th century, argued without substantiation: 'Enlightened politicians could not but perceive that special taxation, laid on small class which happens to be rich, unpopular and defenceless, is really confiscation, and must ultimately impoverish rather than enrich the State. After some discussion, the Jew tax was abandoned.'[142]

Even the Jewish lawyer and historian Henriques does not agree with him. According to Henriques, people were less convinced of the injustice than of the impossibility of the Jews raising the sum, although there was apparently no discussion of reducing the tax demand in response. But the entire tax proposal was dropped, which leads us to speculate that there were other 'unknown but powerful influences' at work which prevented the law from being passed.

The year 1694 sees the founding of the Bank of England Company.[143] The first directors were exclusively English, and it was not until the 18th century that we find Jews in this position. At first the Hebrews were against the establishment of the bank and, together with the goldsmiths of the City of London, tried to bring it down. Among other things, the Bank of England Company was granted a royal charter to practice banking, and it also traded in gold and silver bullion.[144] The former was previously a monopoly run by the goldsmiths, the latter was exclusively in the hands of

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140 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), p. 58. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

141 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. X. p. 319.

142 Macaulay: *History*, Vol. III, pp. 497-8. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source [p. 91 of Vol. III of 1906 edition].

143 Acres, Vol. I, p. 8.

144 Acres, Vol. I, p. 5 ff. Translator's note: Subsequent research has shown that certain Jewish investors did indeed take a great interest in the Bank of England from its earliest days, an interest (and involvement) which only grew as time passed. See Giuseppi [Translator's Bibliography] for further details.

the Jews. Both therefore saw the bank as an inconvenient competitor supported by the state. The Hebrews also apparently did not like the fact that the bank had been set up by their old enemies – prominent freemen of the City of London – without their involvement.

In 1696 the young company had to go through a difficult crisis that it was only able to overcome with great effort.[145] The reason for this was that the government encouraged the creation of a rival company, the Land Bank United, and the Bank of England was unable to meet the public demand for undamaged coins as a result of illegal coin clipping. The scale of the crime was so great that silver coins were only traded at a fraction of the official rate.[146] It appears that the Jews were not uninvolved in this general financial crisis, as evidenced by extant state documents.

According to an entry dated May 14th, 1696, in a discussion about the Bank of England, it is clear that the wavering of confidence in the bank's credit was caused by the goldsmiths, aided by the unsavoury business methods of the Jews:

> Some considerations had about the blow given to credit. It was considered that it rose from the malice of goldsmiths against the bank, which had lessened their profit; and the Jews combined with them; the latter had found out a new way for remittances in gold at 31*s*. 9*d*., silver 31*s*., and bank bills 30*s*., which was to ruin the credit of the bank; that the goldsmiths kept up their gold, and new and broad money, and issued only clipped sixpences.[147]

The day after this discussion, the miscreants concerned were summoned to Whitehall and given a dressing-down:

> The merchant Jews called in and advised not to augment the difficulties that are now upon credit. Sir Francis Child and Sir Stephen Evance spoken with to the same purpose.[148]

Another communication dated August 6th seems to indicate that Judah was inclined to provide funds for the establishment of the land bank:

> R. Yard to Sir John [Joseph] Williamson. Little of moment has passed here since you went out of town, except what relates to the money business. This brought Lord Portland from Flanders. The gentlemen of the Land bank subscribed only 36,000*l*., and the jews have remitted 20,000*l*.[149]

145 Acres, Vol. I, p. 66 ff.
146 *Parl. Papers*, Vol. V, p. 955. Translator's note: (from original source) 'The current silver coin had for many years began to be clipped and adulterated… that five pounds in silver specie was scarce worth 40 shillings, according to the standard: beside an infinite deal of iron, brass, or copper, washed over, or plated.'
147 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1696, p. 178. Translator's note: Quoted verbatim from original source.
148 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1696, p. 179. Translator's note: Quoted verbatim from original source.
149 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1696, p. 325. Translator's note: Quoted verbatim from original source.

Meanwhile, the Jews returned to the royal favour, to the detriment of the City of London, and the merchants complained about the king's poor treatment of them.[150] They also complained that the Jews received better conditions for loans than the City, and were therefore prepared to subscribe more money on the same conditions, if they could be promised of an equally speedy repayment.[151] The following events would indicate that the Jews had continued to gain influence:

Near the beginning of 1696 a petition was submitted to Parliament regarding issues with a bill to prevent fraud and abuse in the plantation trade, which would be applied principally to the American colonies. Certainly the conditions there required urgent remedy, otherwise the law would not have needed to be passed. Unfortunately, as far as can be ascertained, the debates on the bill in Parliament and in committee have not been preserved, however, we can at least see from the *Commons Journal* entry of 5th March who among the colonists were considered responsible for these abuses:

> That, in the Bill, now before the House, for preventing Frauds, and regulating Abuses, in the Plantation-Trade, there is a Clause, That no Person, other than such as are Natives of *England* or *Ireland*, or born in his Majesty's Plantations, shall trade, as a Merchant or Factor, in the Plantations, under a Penalty…[152]

Accordingly, the view must have initially prevailed that the removal of aliens [foreigners] was absolutely necessary to remedy the grievances. Of course, among those who had to leave the colonies if the law came into force were, in addition to other aliens, numerous Jews. So it is not surprising that the Jews themselves submitted a petition on February 12th, 1696, requesting that the above-mentioned regulation be waived, because:

> …such a Clause will be the Ruin of many Families, who, by the Rigour of the *Spanish* and *Portuguize* Inquisitions, were forced to renounce their native Countries, and shelter themselves under the Protection of the *English* Government; to which they have ever dutifully submitted: And praying, That they may be heard, by their Counsel, at the Bar of the House, before the Passing of the Said Bill, touching the Premises.[153]

We do not know whether it was the Jews' petition or some other influence, which is so often suspected, but in any case the clause which was so dangerous for them was omitted. As a result, the aforementioned law was passed on April 10th, 1696, but without the all-important aliens clause.[154] A compromise had been reached in which the governors and commanders-in-chief of the English colonies had to take a solemn oath that they promised to do their utmost to enforce all of the alien-

150 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1696, p. 310.
151 *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. 1696, pp. 310, 317.
152 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XI, p. 491. Translator's note: Quoted verbatim from original source.
153 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XI, p. 440. Translator's note: Quoted verbatim from original source. Note the historical importance of the final sentence – even as early as the 17th century, Jews evidently thought nothing of sending their lobbyists into the House of Commons Chamber in a bid to persuade MPs to side with their cause, to make eye contact with the speakers, and likely to even waylay lawmakers as they entered and left the Chamber.
154 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XI, p. 555.

restrictive clauses relating to trade which already existed in the Navigation and other kindred Acts.[155]

The Jews had won their battle to stay in the colonies. The interpretation of the law was left to the individual discretion of the powerful, and the Hebrews, as only they knew how, most certainly knew how to get the powerful onside.

155 Henriques: *Special Taxation* (II), pp. 65-6. Translator's note: Obviously, if this pre-existing legislation had been in any way effective, new legislation would not have been required. A parallel case of egregious Jewish interference in the crafting of an English law originally conceived to restrict undesirable immigration, thereby rendering it completely ineffective, is the 1905 Aliens Act (see Volume 7).

Jewish Successes

Before the 17th century ended, the Jews celebrated a great victory over the City of London.

In those days, more than today, a merchant's advancement depended on being admitted to the Royal Exchange as a broker, where all of the wholesale trade took place. But the City had for a long time ensured that hardly any foreigners, and certainly no Jews, were allowed entry. The Jews were of course aware of the importance of gaining entry, and so even under Cromwell they did everything they could to ensure that at least one of their ethnic brethren became a member of the stock exchange. Despite fierce resistance, they achieved their goal, because under pressure from Cromwell the City was forced to give a broker's medal to Solomon Dormido, eldest son of the aforementioned Manuel Martinez Dormido.[156] This completely violated the prevailing laws, because at that time a Jew could neither become a freeman of the City nor become a broker without taking the Christian oath. However, these two legal requirements were waived for Dormido. We completely agree with Wolf that Dormido's admission, which flouted the existing laws, could only have come about through manipulation, although how this was done can no longer be ascertained from the historical record.[157] In the years 1671-1681, another six Jews were admitted to the Royal Exchange under the same conditions, and so we must assume that this was due to the influence of King Charles II, who was loyal to the Jews.[158] However, disregarding laws in such cases always leads to the same result: the infiltration of extraneous undesirable elements. This is what happened to the brokers on the Royal Exchange, when, to quote Wolf, 'all sorts of disreputable aliens and bad characters forced their way through the portals of the Exchange' [*ibid*. n. 157]. In 1696 the abuses had become so serious that it became urgently necessary to exclude some of the members and reorganise the entire regulatory system, and parliamentary powers were therefore obtained 'for restraining the number and ill-practices of brokers and stock-jobbers'.[159] At the City's request, Parliament passed a law at the beginning of 1697 which, among other things, limited the number of licensed native brokers to 100.[160] According to the implementing regulations that were later issued, there were an additional 12 foreigners and 12 Jews permitted. The previous requirement for freeman status [or 'Freedom of the City'] was then dropped for the Jews and the oath was modified to a form that allowed them to take it,[161] while the foreign merchants (or 'merchant strangers') – among whom there were many Germans, Dutch, Spaniards and French – still had to fulfil the condition of being a City freeman.[162] Acquiring this status was fraught with many difficulties for foreigners, and one must therefore be surprised that the Jews were able to make such considerable progress even in a city that was so hostile to them. Wolf rightly points out that the lack of native resistance to Jewish admission was 'due no doubt to fear lest a conflict with the Jews, in the then

156 Wolf: *Re-Settlement*, pp. 9. 10, 14; Wolf: *Menasseh ben Israel*, pp. 106-7.

157 Wolf: 'Jew Brokers' in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 16/4/1897, p. 8. Translator's note: (*ibid*.) 'How it was managed is a mystery… There was probably some bargain which is not recorded in the Guildhall archives and no doubt public opinion connived at the infraction of the law for fear of driving the Jewish trade out of the country.'

158 Wolf: *First Stage* pp. 132-3. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

159 Wolf in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 16/4/1897, 14/8/1903; Wolf: *First Stage*, p. 134. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from *First Stage*, where Wolf's source for the quotation is given as a reference to a page in Wolf's own archive. No source at all is given for the quotation in the *Jewish Chronicle* versions.

160 *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. VII, pp. 285-7. Translator's note: Before the new regulation, the number of Jews working at the stock exchange must have grown to quite an extent (cf. the earlier report of Thomas Beaumont having 37 Jews arrested as they did business at the Royal Exchange in 1685).

161 Wolf: *First Stage* p. 134. Hyamson: *History*, pp. 208-9.

162 Wolf: *First Stage* pp. 135.

undefined, but still very real, protection extended to them by the Government, might lead to some irreparable invasion of the rights of the City'.[163] The reader is invited to ponder why an English government was so keen to impose its will on the kingdom's most respected citizenry on behalf of a small number of Jews.

In the spring of 1698 an 'Act for the more effectual suppressing of Blasphemy and Profaneness' was put before Parliament, and an amendment was inserted after its return to the House of Lords, by which all persons openly professing Judaism would have been made liable to severe penalties.[164] We can also see what happened when this amended bill was put to the vote in the House of Commons, as reported by Luttrell in his *Diary*, dated March 22nd, 1698:

> The commons yesterday divided [voted] about a clause in the bill against prophanesse, relating to the Jews, who deny Jesus Christ; 144 were for it, and 78 against it: so the clause was added that the Jews shal not be molested.[165]

We can see then how the Jews had made considerable progress by the end of the 17th century. They not only enjoyed the favour of the king, but also increasingly the favour of Parliament.

163 Wolf: *First Stage*, p. 132. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
164 Henriques: *Jews and the English Law*, p. 167.
165 Luttrell: *Brief Historical Relation*, Vol. IV, p. 358. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

Moral Corruption

Over the course of 18th century and onwards, we will see that the general populace still wanted to have nothing to do with the Jews or their allies. It is therefore strange that despite this fact, most of the members of Parliament that the populace supposedly elected were almost exclusively pro-Jewish. Jewish historians attribute this stance of the decisive estates of the realm – the king and the legislative houses – to the fact that they recognised the value of the Jewish race and therefore always defended it. There is considerable debate about such an argument. Was it not rather the 'powerful influences' that Wolf spoke of, those that were invisible to outsiders and which worked for Jewish interests? In other words: Was it not money that caused the king and government to protect the Jews? Before we go into this matter further, a preliminary question must first be asked: Is it conceivable that the monarchy, the House of Commons and the House of Lords, all so highly praised throughout history, could behave so despicably? Incidents in history point to this being the case.

We can only deal briefly here with this chapter of English history and so can only convey a few of the many salient events of that time.

In 1694, the House of Commons Speaker, Sir John Trevor, was expelled from the House for 'Corrupt Practices'. In exchange for a thousand guineas (£1,050) from the City of London, he had, in an illegal and unconstitutional manner, facilitated the passage of a bill (the Orphans Bill), which aimed to protect the City of London after it had repeatedly raided a fund for orphans to cover its own financial deficits. A smaller bribe (20 guineas) had been taken by MP John Hungerford, who had chaired the Orphans Bill committee. He too was expelled from Parliament.[166]

One of the state's highest officials, Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Henry Guy, was imprisoned in the Tower of London because he was found to have taken a bribe of 200 guineas. The public reaction with Guy, as with the case of Sir John Trevor, was one of great anger. For a long time both men were considered people who not only allowed themselves to be corrupted, but who also corrupted other House members through their high position, and with the help of their financial backers.[167]

At the same time, other notable figures were convicted of similar crimes.[168] The biggest scandal, however, arose from the discovery of bribery on the part of the East India Company, which sought to obtain favourable decisions from the king and both legislative houses on the renewal of its charter, which gave it a monopoly on trade with the East. The governor of this company, the goldsmith and MP Sir Thomas Cooke, was immediately arrested, imprisoned in the Tower and forced to explain the use of what otherwise appeared to be a secret slush fund of £90,000 marked for 'private service'.[169]

Cooke's interrogation in front of Parliament was carried out in an atmosphere of great tension. Many Englishmen in high places feared for their honour because of their involvement in the affair.

The first interrogation took place on April 23rd, 1695.[170] One would have assumed that the governor would have been cautious about his initial statement, for he could only expect support

166 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, pp. 901-907.
167 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, pp. 885-887.
168 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 890 ff.
169 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 913. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from p. 899.
170 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 915.

from his high-status accomplices if he spared them. To their horror, however, he did not make use of this opportunity, but rather revealed the truth, albeit in a tortuous form. In particular the Court of Committee wanted to know about two large items of £10,000 and £33,000. The Governor's subsequent statement, as reported by Cobbett, must therefore have caused a sensation:

> To the first sum, of 10,000*l.* mentioned in the said writing, he saith, The same was paid to Mr. Tyssen in Nov. 1692: That he gave him no direction how it should be disposed; but it was in expectation to have the Charter of the East-India Company confirmed, and new regulations thereto made; and they concluded it for the service of the Company: It was intended for the king; but he could not say the king had it.
>
> He believes the East-India Company never had any Account how this 10,000*l.* was disposed of: he told the Court as he remembers, That he had disposed of the Money; and they required no Account thereof: he believes Mr. Tyssen told him, That he delivered it to sir Josiah Child, who delivered it to the king: He saith, It is a customary present: and that, in king Charles, and other former reigns, the like had been done for several years, which by the Books of the Company may appear.

Cooke could not deny that the Company was in an ‘ill condition’ at the time this present was made, and that he himself had advanced the sum, but repayment was not made within the intended four or five months. The £10,000 and £2,000 next mentioned in the account were paid at about the same time to Mr. Rd. Acton, who declared that ‘he had several friends capable of doing great service to the Company’s affairs, and several of them would speak with parliament-men’. He could not give details as to who they were, but the aim was to get an act passed by Parliament.[171]

Cooke then went on to say that the desired act was a prohibition on the establishment of a rival trading company for the East Indies, which had been planned to do business there in accordance with the king's wishes. Apart from the members of Parliament, no one else had been influenced.[172] Various lords had received large sums for the passage of the law sought by the Company, with the Duke of Leeds [also known as the Earl of Danby] having been given almost £6,000. Meanwhile, Sir Basil Firebrace received £10,000 for himself, and distributed a further £30,000 to various people unknown to the governor to secure favourable laws for the company.[173]

During his interrogation, Sir Basil denied distributing the money to influential people. Rather, he stated that it was for share losses he had incurred, and had thus kept it for himself except for an amount of £500.[174]

Firebrace’s banker Mr. Fowles then gave his testimony, which was recorded for posterity with the following words:

> That he cannot remember the Names of any Members of Parliament, to whom any money was paid by sir Basil’s order: That he never keeps any private Notes or

171 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 915. Translator’s note: Translator’s note: Quotations and quoted elements reproduced verbatim from original source.
172 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 916.
173 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, pp. 917-9.
174 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 922-3.

> Memorandums of persons names to whom he pays Money; and hath no other Accounts, to as to that matter, but what are in his Books.[175]

Further evidence revealed that consideration had even been given to bribing the queen and to providing the king with a special sum of £50,000 if he would support the Company.[176] But the king had his agent Mr. Tyssen tell Cooke's agent Mr. Acton: 'The king would not meddle in that matter'.[177] The king might not have accepted the money this time because he considered the sum too paltry, but the fact that anyone could even dare to make him the offer in the first place without him immediately initiating proceedings against the Company tells us all we need to know about the monarch's moral rectitude. Sir Thomas Cooke and Sir Basil Firebrace were sentenced to prison along with other participants. The case against the Duke of Leeds, then Lord President, did not progress very well and later went completely dormant. Everyone was convinced that he had received 5,500 guineas for supporting the passage of the bill favourable to the East India Company. However, it was feared in the highest circles that his conviction would implicate numerous other leading personages, so while the House of Commons initially impeached the duke for high crimes and misdemeanours on April 27th, 1695, and two days later exhibited charges against him, nothing else happened until June 24th, 1701, over six years later, when the House of Lords dismissed both the impeachment and the charges.[178]

There must have been considerable public dismay at the general rottenness of the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the Crown. It is best expressed in the words of the Speaker of the House of Commons when his speech at the conclusion of the various bribery cases culminated in the words: 'What security can the nation have, when we are bought and sold to one another?'[179]

The following contemporary account of endemic bribery does not therefore seem to be an exaggeration. According to this account, again taken from *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*:

> Then was the time when a hungry member was sure of a Dinner* at one or other of the public tables kept about Westminster, and which had very lately began to be set up again, to feed the betrayers of their country…
>
> *The practice was, that besides a dinner, when they had done any eminent piece of service, every one found under his plate such a parcel of guineas, as it was thought his day's work had merited.[180]

The extent of public corruption can also be seen from the fact that, of the 5 million pounds granted by Parliament to continue the War of the Spanish Succession, only 2.5 million ended up in the Exchequer's coffers.[181] The other half ended up in the pockets of individuals. The events on the

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175 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 923. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
176 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 925, 929
177 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 929. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source, although note that this is reported speech. Note also that on this page the surname Tyssen is spelt 'Tysson'; elsewhere in the text we see 'Tyson'. Similarly, Thomas Cooke's surname is sometimes seen as 'Cook'.
178 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, pp. 933-942 [particularly p. 941]
179 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 932. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
180 *Parl. History*, Vol. V, p. 931 (footnote). Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
181 Francis, p. 34.

stock exchange probably contributed significantly to this rot, because bribery was openly discussed there, and in 1720 it was said that ‘elections for members of parliament came to market in ’Change Alley as currently as lottery tickets’.[182]

Exchange Alley, or ’Change Alley as it was known, although it was shortened still further to ‘The Alley’ by those who frequented it most, was for a century the centre of all dealings in stocks, shares, funds, exchequer bills and bank-notes. An excerpt of John Francis’ description of The Alley [p.27-8] is worth reproducing to give the modern reader a sense of the wheeling-and-dealing, wild-west atmosphere of financial London at that time:

> Here assembled the sharper and the saint; here jostled one another the Jew and the Gentile; here met the courtier and the citizen; here the calmness of the gainer contrasted with the despair of the loser; and here might be seen the carriage of some minister, into which the head of his broker was anxiously stretched to gain the intelligence which was to raise or depress the market. In one corner might be witnessed the anxious, eager countenance of the occasional gambler, in strong contrast with the calm, cool demeanour of the man whose trade it was to deceive. In another the Hebrew measured his craft with that of the Quaker, and scarcely came off victorious in the contest; while in one place, appropriated to him, stood the founder of hospitals, impressing with eagerness upon his companion the bargain he was about to make in seamen’s tickets.

Given all of this, we believe that in general circumstances it was not unusual, if not the rule, to bribe the king, the government, and the legislature. We therefore see no reason to doubt that the Jews, who were always present wherever there were trades and intrigues, also played their part.

Even back then, Jews played a significant role on the stock exchange:

> Many Jewish capitalists came over from Holland with William III. From Menasseh Lopez to Abraham Goldsmid and Nathan Meyer Rothschild, a series of Hebrew speculators held commanding positions in Change Alley or the Stock Exchange. They followed their avocation with eager zest; and their expresses from every court in Europe outstripped Government messengers with the latest news. Stock-jobbing flourished greatly, and increased in extent in the middle of the last century, notwithstanding various attempts made by the legislature to check this form of gambling.[183]

It is interesting to note that the Jews committed a fraud similar to that alleged by Rothschild after the Battle of Waterloo.

One day during the reign of Queen Anne, a well-dressed man, riding his horse at a furious rate, ordering turnpikes to be thrown open and sparing neither spur nor steed, rode down the Queen’s Road, loudly proclaiming the death of the queen to all those who could hear. It did not take long for the news to spread everywhere. Given the uncertainty of the successor, government securities on the stock exchange fell dramatically. The Christian speculators, spooked, threw their

182 Francis, pp. 48-9. Translator’s note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
183 Picciotto, p. 219. Translator’s note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

securities onto the market and the oversupply pushed the price down even further. In the general confusion it was hardly noticed that the Jews under Menasseh Lopez were buying up all the government securities that they could get their hands on. After a while it was discovered that the news of the queen's death was untrue. The result of this was a rebound in stock prices and a consequent huge profit for the Jews.[184] In what he calls ‘first political hoax on record’, John Francis rightly points out: ‘There is no positive information to fix the deception upon any one in particular, but suspicion was pointed at those who gained by the fraud so publicly perpetrated.’[185]

It was agreed in the decent circles of England that ‘the brokers of ’Change Alley were the bane of the nation’, with someone at the time describing Exchange Alley as:

> …a complete system of knavery, founded in fraud, born of deceit, and nourished by trick, cheat, wheedle, forgeries, falsehoods, and all sorts of delusions; coining false news, whispering imaginary terrors, and preying upon those they have elevated or depressed.[186]

However, such a state of lawlessness was optimal for the Jews, and so it is not surprising that ‘the Hebrews flocked to ’Change Alley from every quarter under heaven’.[187] A single synagogue in London was no longer sufficient, and so, in addition to the recently enlarged Sephardic synagogue, a synagogue for the Ashkenazim was built.[188] The continuous influx – mostly of Eastern European Jews – can still be determined from state documents, as there the entries for passport requests and other such matters for the Children of Israel are found at an unprecedented level.[189]

With such favouritism, it is only too understandable that the Jews accumulated riches upon riches, and during this period it was Menasseh Lopez, Solomon Medina and Sampson Gideon who were known for their enormous fortunes. The first name we have already mentioned. He was the man who owed his fortune mainly to the aforementioned ‘queen’s death’ fraud.[190]

It is worthwhile spending some time on the lives of the latter two. An in-depth discussion of Sampson Gideon will be undertaken in the context of the political struggles of 1753, while Solomon Medina was at his greatest under King William III and Queen Anne.

According to one account, Medina came with the stream of Jews from Holland to England after William III's accession to the throne.[191] However, there are doubts about the accuracy of this narrative, because according to another source, Medina paid fixed contributions to the Jewish community's coffers as early as 1677, over a decade before William III's expedition to England. These contributions were calculated as a percentage of income. Picciotto has found that, based on the payments made, Medina must have had an income of £32,000 in 1677 and even £80,000 the following year, a considerable sum for those times.[192]

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184 Francis, p. 49. Picciotto, p. 59. Translator’s note: Readers may find certain parallels between this event and the method by which Samson Gideon almost doubled his fortune in 1745-6 (see Volume 4).
185 Francis, p. 49. Translator’s note: Quotation and quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
186 Francis, p. 61. Translator’s note: Quotation and quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
187 Francis, p. 81. Translator’s note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
188 Margoliouth: *History*, Vol. II, p. 41 ff.; Picciotto, p. 54 ff.
189 See, for example, *Domestic State Papers*, Vol. 1696, pp. 211, 420, 462; Vol. 1697, p. 49, 55, 90, 115, 139, 141, 159.
190 Picciotto, p. 59.
191 *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 425.

His money certainly won him the favour of King William III in one way or another, because on June 23rd, 1700 he was honoured with a knighthood.[193] This is all the more remarkable because, unlike Coronel, who converted to Christianity in 1660, there are no references to any conversion of Medina in the historical record. The conversion to the Christian faith was apparently left to his descendants.[194]

Medina was known as a merchant, but his main field of activity was as an army contractor, supplying the army with bread. He may have played the same role in England during the War of the Spanish Succession as the Jew Oppenheimer did in Austria on the same occasion.[195] He was the reason that the Duke of Marlborough, Winston Churchill's ancestor, was dismissed from public office in 1712, and he has provided us with evidence of active bribery.

192 Picciotto, p. 50. Translator's note: Picciotto also details the methodology used by the synagogue to calculate each member's income tax (*finta*), and reveals that Medina was the synagogue's biggest contributor at the time.

193 Le Neve, p. 473. Translator's note: Note that in this volume his name is rendered 'Solomon de Medena', while in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* it is 'Solomon de Medina'.

194 *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 425.

195 Frischauer, p. 289. Translator's note: Source not found in any of Aldag's bibliographies.

Marlborough, the Ancestor of Winston Churchill

John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, was accompanied by Medina on all of his military campaigns. The latter supported him – as his fellow Englishman Cromwell had been served – by providing intelligence.[196] Meanwhile, the battles of 'Ramilies, Oudenarde, and Blenheim administered as much to the purse of the Hebrew as they did to the glory of England'.[197]

But this close association of the Jews with one of the most famous generals of the 18th century had its downside: from a soldier's point of view, it must have been shameful to see how Jewish money had somewhat tarnished Marlborough's glory. If we dwell on this matter, it is not in the least as an attempt to belittle his deeds, which were so great for England, or to burden him with shame; rather it is to provide yet another example of how the Jewish character and Jewish behaviours are very often the cause of such irregularities or blemishes in the lives of great men as is seen with Marlborough. Although he may have been greedy for money and thus became an easy victim of the Jews, one cannot imagine Medina's assistance or even instigation in this incident. In general, the events speak eloquently to the fact that, at the same time as the Jews' greater influence in public life after 1660, bribery in connection with the perversion of justice and the commission of crimes took place in disproportionately greater frequency than earlier in English history – especially under Elizabeth and Charles I. The reader may remember Ludovici's statement [Volume 2] that the exploitation of the people began with the death of Charles I. This was also the point at which the Jews had begun to gain their foothold in England. The beginning of the general grievances from the populace along with the simultaneous appearance of the Jews must at least give us pause for thought. It is left to the reader to decide whether the presence of the Hebrews was not a *sine qua non* for the development of adverse conditions in England. Perhaps this thesis is not so implausible when one considers that it is always the Jew whose name is associated with the corruption of morals. The case of Marlborough and Medina may rightfully be consulted for proof of this.

In the autumn of 1711 there were signs that Marlborough was using large sums of money from bribes and other public funds for himself.

A commission was appointed that, over the course of long sessions, tried to get to the bottom of the matter. At the beginning of October 1711, as we learn from a letter to Lord Oxford, the public was already fully aware of the facts.[198] The Jew Medina was called as the main witness and examined under oath. The substance of his deposition best summarises the whole situation and is reproduced in full below:

> Sir *Solomon de Medina*, Knight, being sworn on the *Pentateuch*, deposeth, That from the Year 1707, to this present Year 1711, both inclusive, he has been solely, or in Partnership, concerned in the Contracts for Bread, and Bread-Wagons, for supplying the Forces in the *Low-Countries*, in the Queen of *Great Britain*'s Pay; and that he gave his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, for his own Use, the several Sums following, viz:

196 Picciotto, pp. 58-9; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 425; Margoliouth, Vol. II, pp. 58-9.
197 Francis, pp. 31-2. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
198 Coxe, Vol. III, p. 458.

For the year	1707 ---------	65.000 Dutch Guilders
	1708 ---------	62.000 Dutch Guilders
	1709 ---------	69.587 Dutch Guilders
	1710 ---------	66.810 Dutch Guilders
	Total -------	**265.614 Dutch Guilders**

Also Twenty One Thousand Gilders for this present Year, in Part of a like Sum with those abovementioned; all which Sums he gave his Grace, because the former Contractors had given the like Annual Sums.

He further deposeth, That he allowed Yearly, Twenty Two Wagons *gratis*, to the General Officers, Twelve or Fourteen of which were for the Duke of *Marlborough*'s own Use, and that the former Contractors did the same.

This Deponent further saith, That from the said Year 1707, to this Year 1711, both inclusive, he gave Yearly, on sealing the said Contracts, a Gratuity of Five Hundred Gold Ducats to Mr. *Cardonnel*, Secretary to the Duke of *Marlborough*, for his Trouble and Pains in translating the *Dutch* Contracts, and putting the *English* Contracts into Form. And he further saith, That for all the Money he received in *Holland* from Mr. *Sweet*, Deputy Pay-Master at *Amsterdam*, on Account of the said Contracts, he was obliged to pay him One *per Cent.* for Prompt Payment, and that the former Contractors did the same; but he found him notwithstanding so backwards in his Payments, that he complained to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and, at the same Time, acquainted him with the Allowance he made to Mr. *Sweet* of One *per Cent*. as aforesaid, and that his Grace reproved him for not paying this Deponent more punctually.

And this Deponent further saith, That it appeared by the Accounts of *Antonio Alvarez Machado*, who had supplied the Bread, and Bread-Waggons, for the Forces in the English Pay, as aforesaid, for the Year 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, and 1706, That he gave as large Yearly Sums to the Duke of *Marlborough*, as this Deponent hath done since.

Jurat [sworn], 6 December, 1711.

S. de Medina.[199]

Medina's deposition and the entire proceedings, which was initially kept as secret as possible, quickly reached the ears of the absent Marlborough. Immediately the 'insulted general', to use Coxe's words,[200] sent a letter of defence to the commission. The following is an excerpt from this letter:

199 *Report of the Commissioners*, p. 8. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. I have, however, followed Aldag in only stating the Guilders in the accounts, omitting the *Schillinge* and the *Pfennige*, but wish to assure the reader that Medina was able to provide an account of the transactions down to the last *Pfennig*.

200 Coxe, Vol. III, p. 459. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.

Hague, 10 November 1711.

Gentlemen,

> Having been informed, on my Arrival here, That Sir *Solomon de Medina* has acquainted you with my having received several Sums of Money from him; that it might make the less Impression on you, I would lose no Time in letting you know, That this is no more than what has always been allow'd, as a Perquisite, to the General or Commander in Chief, of the Army in the *Low Countries*, even before the Revolution, and since: And I do assure you, at the same Time, That whatever Sums I have received on that Account, have been constantly employ'd for the Service of the Publick, in keeping secret Correspondence, and in getting Intelligence of the Enemies Motions and Designs…

Marlborough then goes on to comment about the allegations regarding the use of other public funds, which are not of great interest here. However, it should be pointed out that Marlborough does not deny that he received the money from Medina, but says that he did not use it for himself, instead using it for state ends, to aid the war effort. In addition, he defends himself with the argument that the receipt of the money itself was legal because it was a legitimate additional income that had been permitted for a long time. He ends his letter with a personal address to the commissioners:

> And now, Gentlemen, as I have laid the whole Matter fairly before you, and that, I hope you will allow, I have served my Queen and Country with that Faithfulness and Zeal which becomes an honest Man, the Favour that I intreat of you, is, That when you make your Report to the Parliament, you will lay this Part before them in its true Light, so that they may see this necessary and important Part of the War has been provided for, and carried on, without any other Expence to the Publick, than the Ten thousand Pounds a Year; and I flatter myself, that when the Accounts of the Army in *Flanders* come under your Consideration, you will be sensible, the Service on this Side has been carried on with all the Œcomony and good Husbandry to the Publick, that was possible. I am, Gentlemen,
>
> *Your most Obedient Humble Servant,*
>
> Marlborough.[201]

Marlborough's secretary, Mr. Adam Cardonnel, who was responsible for administering the bread contracts, was also interviewed:

> Mr. Cardonnel being sworn, was ask'd, Whether there are any Allowances or Presents made to the *English* General in the *Low Countries*, by the Contractors for Bread, and Bread-Wagons, he answer'd, No, not that he ever heard of, till the late Noise of Sir *Solomon de Medina*'s Evidence before this Commission.

201 *Report of the Commissioners*, p. 4-5; *Parl. History*, Vol. VI, p. 1057. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source (*Report*).

> The Question above was asked twice, and he repeated the same answer..[202]

The Duke's secretary also stated that he had given no receipt for the skimming of the other public funds that were also in question:

> But Mr *Cardonnel*, as he declares on Oath, never gave any Receipt for any Part of this Two and a Half per cent…[203]

Marlborough thought it advisable to leave the Hague as quickly as possible and return to England. On November 17th he landed at Greenwich, 'to encounter new disgusts and aggravated indignities'.[204] Meanwhile, the public had also become aware of the events taking place. Pamphlets appeared against the Duke, some of which were obviously motivated more by the desire to tear him down than by any real wish to report on the facts. Others – and we will only deal with these – could not understand how a man in his position could have used so much money.[205] According to one such publication, Marlborough had an annual income from his various public offices of £62,325. Since 1701, he had received a total of £623,381 from Jews and public sources. Furthermore, he received various special payments, such as £50,000 from Holland after the Battle of Blenheim.[206] However, the total stated in this pamphlet appears to be somewhat exaggerated and the figure of approximately £523,000 found by the commission of inquiry is more likely.[207]

The two legislative houses met in early December, which also opened up party-political battles over this issue.[208] Marlborough's opponents did everything they could to get the investigation done as quickly as possible. They were successful, and on December 15th, a motion passed in the Commons for the commissioners of public accounts to report their findings.[209] The report was presented on December 21st.[210] First, Medina's statement and Marlborough's letter, as previously discussed here, were reproduced. The commission then took the position that such payments from military supply contracts 'can never be esteemed Legal or Warrantable Perquisites'. In addition:

> …they do not find, by the strictest Enquiry they can make, that any other *English* General in the *Low-Countries*, or elsewhere, ever claimed or received such Perquisites; but if any Instance should be produced, they humbly apprehend it will be no Justification of it, because the Publick, or the Troops, must necessarily suffer in Proportion to every such Perquisite; and how agreeable this Practice is to that Œconomy and good Husbandry, with which that Service in *Flanders* is said to be carried on, remains yet to be explained. By the Assurance his Grace is pleased to give, that this Money has been constantly employ'd for the Service of the Publick, it must be either

202 *Report of the Commissioners*, p. 12. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
203 *Report of the Commissioners*, p. 6. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
204 Coxe, Vol. III, p. 462 ff. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
205 For example: *No Queen; or, No Genera*l pp. 10-11.
206 *Yearly Income of the Duke…* p. 1 ff.
207 *Report of the Commissioners*, pp. 6, 22, 23.
208 Coxe, Vol. III. p. 469ff.
209 Coxe, Vol. III. p. 478.
210 Coxe, Vol. III. p. 478; *Parl. History*, Vol. VI, p. 1049; *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XVII, p. 15 ff.

> allowed, that he relinquishes his Right to this pretended Perquisite, or that he has been wanting to himself in concealing so great an Instance of his own Generosity to the Publick.[211]

Furthermore, the statement from the Duke's secretary indicated that the matter was handled with great secrecy – evidence of Marlborough's own guilty conscience. In addition, in their opinion, Marlborough's behaviour represented a major breach of trust:

> The great Caution and Secrecy with which this Money was constantly received, gives Reason to suspect, that it was not thought a justifiable Perquisite; for Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke's Secretary, and Auditor of the Bread Account, has declared on Oath, That he never knew or heard of any such Perquisite, till the late Rumour of Sir *Solomon de Medina*'s Evidence before Your Commissioners. By the Contracts for Bread, and Bread-Wagons, the General appears to be the sole Cheque on the Contractors; he is to take Care that the Terms of the Contracts are duly performed; he is to judge of all Deductions to be made from, and Allowance to, the Contractors; and whether in such Circumstances he can receive any Gratuity, or Perquisite, from the Contractors, without a Breach of his Trust, Your Commissioners presume not to determine. The General may with equal Reason claim a Perquisite for every other Contract relating to the Army, as for these of the Bread, and Bread-Wagon; but his Grace being silent as to this, your Commissioners ought to suppose he has not received any such Allowance, unless they shall understand otherwise when they come to examine into those Contracts, which hitherto they have not been able to do, by reason the Contractors are Foreigners, and constantly resident in Holland.[212]

With regard to the other amounts received, which had no connection with Medina, it was then concluded that these were public funds and that Marlborough had also committed a criminal offence in disposing of them. The Duke's argument of using the money to pay for espionage was refuted with the following counter-argument:

> By the Warrant, this Deduction is reserved for the defraying extraordinary Contingent Expences of the Troops, from whom it is stopp'd: And if the Whole has been employed in secret Correspondence and Intelligence, there must have been some Neglect of the other Services for which it was originally design'd; and such a Disposition being in no sort authoriz'd by the Warrant, is a Misapplication of it.[213]

Under the force of this accusation, the Queen removed Marlborough from all of his positions on December 30th, in order, as she emphasised, to ensure an impartial investigation.

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211 *Report of the Commissioners*, p. 5. Translator's note: Quotation and quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
212 *Report of the Commissioners*, p. 5. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
213 *Report of the Commissioners*, p. 6. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

On January 24th, 1712, the debate on the commission's report took place. The best speakers were on both sides. They refrained from any harsh words about Marlborough's service to his country and took a purely factual stance on the report.[214] His defence lawyers also submitted the affidavit of Jacob de Mercado, book-keeper and cashier for the late owners of the bread company, from which Marlborough had also received money from the bread contracts. This employee had special insight into the business and made the following statement (translated from French):

> I the underwritten, Book-keeper and Cashier of the late Messieurs *Machado* and *Pereira*, deceased, Contractors General of Bread, for the *English* and *Dutch*, during all the last War; and interested myself, with the late Monsieur *Machado*, in the Bread Contracts of this War, till the Year One thousand Seven hundred and Six, inclusive; do hereby declare and attest, That, during the whole Course of the last War, and of this present War, till the aforesaid Year 1706; I say, I do declare and affirm, That the Usage and Custom was, That the Contractors for Bread did annually give a very Considerable Present to the Generals commanding in Chief the Armies during the aforesaid time; and also to several General Officers of lesser Rank; which said Present, or Gratifications, were proportionable to the Strength and Number of the Troops that composed the Army to whom the Deliveries of Bread were made: And I do further attest and certify, That I have always heard, from the Persons that contracted for Bread in the First Campaigns made by King *William*, of glorious Memory, That the said Usage of making such Present, or Gratification, to the Generals commanding in Chief, was generally practised, and became, by long practice, a Right established in such a Manner, that the Contractors thought, that the Generals commanding in Chief might legally claim the same…[215]

This statement was intended to confirm Marlborough's earlier statements, as found in his letter of November 10th, 1711. The defence more or less only put forward the arguments used by Marlborough in his letter. His opponents, on the other hand, took the stance of the investigative commission. By a majority of 265 votes to 155 the House determined: 'That the taking several Sums of Money annually, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, from the Contractors for furnishing the Bread, and Bread Waggons, for the Army in the *Low Countries*, was unwarrantable and illegal.'[216]

A similar decision was made regarding the further public funds that were received by Marlborough.

The annual receipt of the 500-ducat gratuity by Marlborough's secretary, Mr. Adam Cardonnel, was also found to be 'unwarrantable and illegal' and he was expelled from Parliament. It was also decreed that the aforementioned Mr. Sweet was to be prosecuted, because:

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214 Coxe, Vol. III. p. 484 ff.; *Parl. History*, Vol. VI, p. 1077; *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XVII, p. 38.

215 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XVII, p. 36-37. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

216 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XVII, p. 38; *Parl. History*, Vol. VI, p. 1077. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source (*Journals*).

> …the One *per Cent.*, received by Mr. *Sweet*, Deputy Pay-Master at *Amsterdam*, upon the Payments made by him to the Contractors for furnishing Bread, and Bread-Wagons in the *Low-Countries*, is Publick Money, and ought to be accounted for…[217]

Queen Anne was asked to instruct the Attorney General to initiate formal criminal proceedings against Marlborough. She complied with this request, but the process was 'very moderately pursued'. The reason, we hear, was 'either by the queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted, or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanor of the defendant'.[218] The trial that was supposed to take place eventually went nowhere.

Marlborough published a defence soon after Parliament's decision, in which he gave the same apologia as found in his letter of November 10th, 1711. He added that Prince Waldeck, whilst he was General of the Dutch Army in Flanders, had received the same funds. Receiving free deliveries of bread also corresponded to an 'ancient Usage', which Count Tilly reportedly partook in.[219] Furthermore, the public did not appear to have been disadvantaged by the donations from the bread contractors, and he had not committed a breach of trust because the contracts had been signed by the Treasury. The army had never suffered from a lack of bread, and he had always followed up on the few complaints that he had received from the soldiers, regarding which he appealed to his officers to confirm the truth of his assertion.[220]

His secretary had had nothing to do with the bread deliveries and therefore knew nothing about his master's perquisite, while the Duke had had no idea about the money paid to Mr. Sweet.[221]

We shall refrain from going into the many pamphlets for and against Marlborough that were published during this period. The statement of the facts from his defence should suffice.

Marlborough tried to clear his name by claiming that the benefits from the bread contracts were legitimate additional income – in other words, that he was asserting a right. However, such a right only arises if it does not violate the written laws and – what is actually much more important – if it does not violate the sense of decency of all those who think fairly and equitably. What matters here is not the opinion of a specific circle, but rather the general public. Therefore, while the Jews and their allies may have believed that the general had a claim to righteousness, people with the generally accepted moral viewpoint could not approve of his actions. Such behaviour has always been described by law and custom as bribery. Apart from the fact that an official is not free in his decisions when receiving such money, there is also the fact that public funds suffer as a result, because no one will believe that the Jews paid the amounts out of their own pockets or to the detriment of their own earnings. The bribes were immediately factored into their calculations as expenses, in other words, the state had – and still has to pay in such cases – the surcharges imposed for the crimes of its officials.

Aside from the question of additional income, the great general claimed that he did not use the money for himself, but for state purposes – espionage – a justification that has the advantage of it

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217 Coxe, Vol. III. p. 486. *Report of the Commissioners*, p. 16. Translator's note: Quotations reproduced verbatim from respective original sources. Note that Coxe, as some other sources, spells the secretary's surname 'Cardonel'.
218 *Parl. History*, Vol. VI, pp. 1077. Translator's note: Quotations reproduced verbatim from original source.
219 *Case of His Grace*, pp. 5-6. Translator's note: Quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.
220 *Case of His Grace*, pp. 10-11.
221 *Case of His Grace*, p. 12.

being impossible to provide an orderly proof of expenditure due to the nature of the activity. Did he use the 21 wagons of bread given to him by Medina for the same purpose?

As things stand, there can be no doubt that Marlborough and his associates, on the one hand, and the Jews Machado and Medina, on the other, were guilty of passive or active bribery, which is also admitted by some historians.[222]

This incident joins many similar scandals in history, such as the Barmat and the Stavisky scandals – to name just a couple of worthy, or rather unworthy, examples. It is unfortunate, however, that the events just described are associated with the name Marlborough. The well-known English parliamentarian and German hater Winston Churchill is his direct descendant and one of the best-known and most zealous friends of the Jews in England.

It is not surprising then that the general public did not think much of the integrity of the Jews in such events and therefore continued to be hostile towards them. This is illustrated quite nicely by a traditional anecdote. An Englishman was in debt to a Jew who sued for repayment. There was an old law according to which a Jew could not sue in his own name, but only in the name of the king.

The hearing took place before one of England's highest judges, the notorious Lord Chief Justice George Jeffreys, known to history as 'the Hanging Judge'. The English defendant raised the aforesaid formal objection and considered the action to be dismissed. The judge asked if he had anything else to plead in his defence. The defendant replied in the negative. 'Then,' shrieked the judge, 'I tell you that even according to your defence, you must pay his demand, for he did not bring an action against a Christian, but against a Jew, and one greater than himself.'[223]

The literature also provides ample evidence that the people continued to reject the Jews. We shall limit ourselves to dealing with one book, *A Historical and Law Treatise against the Jews and Judaism*, which was first published in 1703. As the author explained in his introductory 'Epistle Dedicatory', his statements were not intended as a hateful screed, but rather as a fair debate, to which intention he has arguably remained true:

> *Gentlemen, I hope you won't mistake me, I am not for whetting the* Edge *of* Severity, *or* Insulting the Agonies *of a* Distress'd People; *but if upon a fair and impartial* Survey, *the* Jews *shall appear to be as* Impious, Dangerous, *and* Subtle *as they are here* Represented, *I hope you will Excuse me if I put you in mind that 'tis your* Duty, *nay your* Interest *to get the Matter candidly Represented, in order to their speedy* Suppression, *and to make a strict Enquiry what* English Christians *are lately Perverted to* Judaism *in* England.[224]

The Jews and their allies, however, as far as they have discussed this book at all, take a different view. But this view is probably due in the most part to the author's highlighting of facts that are inconvenient to the Hebrews. That these reports are not exaggerated can be seen from the aforementioned statements made by John Francis. Furthermore, they are only a generalisation of the

222 Graetz: *History*, Vol. V, p. 217; Jesse: *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 400-5.
223 Picciotto, p. 52. Translator's note: The judge's ruling is quoted verbatim from Picciotto.
224 *Law Treatise*. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source (page unnumbered). The *treatise* must have proved popular enough (or was considered sufficiently important) for a second edition to be published with new typesetting in 1720, although note that the 1720 edition appears to lack the Epistle Dedicatory.

particulars arising from the Medina case, while the conditions described bear so much resemblance to modern conditions in all Western countries, including the erstwhile Weimar Republic, that we have no reason to mistrust the information.

In the author's opinion, which he backs up with legal sources, the pre-Expulsion laws were still in force, according to which Jews were forbidden to settle in England. However, he goes on to say the following:

> As for the great Liberty which the *Jews* now take (in this Realm) it is evident, That by our Antient Laws and Decrees, they have no Pretence, or the least Colour of Law or Right to Claim any such Privileges here; and that the Impious and Immoral Freedom which the *Jews* take amongst us, is depending upon the Force and Power of their Money; which (as we have just Reason to believe) runs through many secret Channels (in this Kingdom) Corruptly, to Support the Impious and Blasphemous Doctrine of the *Jews* against the Gospel of Jesus Christ…[225]

Elsewhere in the text, the Jews are compared to wolves, locusts and thorns:

> And that as Nature will not allow Sheep to Associate with Wolves, no more will the Law of the Gospel allow Christians to Associate or Intermix with *Jews*; Christians are Promised the State of Grace, and the *Jews*, without their Conversion and Repentance, totally Excluded. And as Locusts are to Corn, so are the *Jews* to Christians; the former Consumes the Grain, and the latter Undermines the Common-Wealth; The Foreigners that were Admitted amongst God's own People, Did they not prove Thorns and Briers to them?[226]

Above all, the rabbis had to be expelled from the country.[227] The author then goes on to steadfastly refute the claim that the Jews 'bring in Money, and promote Trade' to the benefit of the nation:

> It is most certain, that none but Kings and Princes, and their Favourites ever gained by the *Jews*; and that all Commonwealths have suffer'd by them to Excess. The Jews, by their Corrupted Charms, and Secret Intrigues, though they have no manner of Right to Live here, do boldly presume, not only to Engross the Principal Part of our Trade, now they are admitted Sharers in Publick Stocks…[228]

The author also details how the Jews have taken over most of international trade, in doing so describing the mechanisms of international Jewry. He also details their mockery of naive English

225 *Law Treatise*, p. 3. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. One example of a Jewish mention of this book is found in Margoliouth's *History*, Vol. II, pp. 57-58, which describes the author as a 'zealot'.
226 *Law Treatise*, p. 13. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.
227 *Law Treatise*, p. 15.
228 *Law Treatise*, p. 17. Translator's note: Quotation and quoted element reproduced verbatim from original source.

largesse, and his argument against the claim that the Jews improved English trade ends on a bitterly sarcastic note:

> The *Jews* have Engross'd the *Portugal* and *Barbary* Trade to themselves, and have bid very fair for the *Spanish*, they have out-done our *English* Merchants, and have got into their Hands the Trade of *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*, whereby they by their Remote Correspondence, drive all the Course of our *Exchange* and Merchandize before them. And by their pretending Friendship to all Religions, they got into favour with Clergy and Laity, which gives them many Opportunities to drain all Christian Countries of their Coin; the *Hollanders* are so well acquainted with the Jews, and with their Practices, that they keep them out of all Publick Stocks at Home, and Hang them up if they catch any of them in their Plantations Abroad; But here in *England* they do what they please, their greatest Sharpers they send hither, and here they are supplied by their Brethren with Money, Jewels and Goods of great Value, to make fine Shews, and gain Credit, and when they have so far got into our Debts as they can, then they march off by new Names, and leave us in the Lurch, and the Jews here helps them off with our Effects; and thus they encrease in Cheat, and multiply in Wickedness, and after this manner of Fraud they Improve the *English* Trade…[229]

So nothing has changed there then.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Jews apparently felt that the time had come to purchase privileges and a location to form a closed settlement. They offered government minister (and close friend of Marlborough) the Earl of Godolphin[230] £500,000 to sell the town of Brentford near London and grant numerous privileges. The Jews' agent reported 'that the affair was already concerted with the chiefs of their brethren abroad; that it would bring the richest of their merchants hither, and of course an addition of above twenty millions of money to circulate in the nation.' Lord Molesworth urged Lord Godolphin to comply with the demand. However, the latter refrained from doing so in view of the expected strong opposition from the clergy and the merchant class, although the Jews were prepared to pay up to £1,000,000 for the fulfilment of their wishes.[231]

As far as is known, during the years of Queen Anne's reign there was in fact only one important piece of legislation concerning the Jews.

Around 1701, Parliament deemed it necessary to enact the following law in the event of a young Jew converting to Christianity:

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229 *Law Treatise*, p. 18. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. This excerpt is particularly interesting because it reveals that a 'reactive anti-Semitism' had begun to set in with the Dutch, a natural and ineluctable process which Professor Kevin MacDonald explains at length, citing historical examples, in his landmark *Separation and Its Discontents* (1998). For a documented example of a foreign Jew gaining credit from English merchants to then skip the country without paying, see Chapter 3 of *The Sultan's Jew* for the incident involving Moroccan Jew Meir Macnin, in which he defrauded fifty English creditors when he left England for Morocco with a ship full of English cargo on credit; the cheated merchants petitioned the British government to take action on their behalf, but to no avail. [See Translator's Bibliography for both sources.]

230 *Dictionary of National Biography*: Vol. XXII, p. 42. Translator's note: Refers to Sidney Goldolphin (1645-1712).

231 Spence, p. 77. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source. This story can also be found (reproduced in full from the original source) in Volume 2.

> If the child of any Jewish Parent is converted to the Christian Religion, or is desirous of Embraceing it; upon Application to the Lord Chancellor he may compell any such Parent to give his Child a sufficient Maintenance, in Proportion to his Circumstances.
>
> Stat. Iº. *Anne* Cap. 30.[232]

There is an amusing anecdote related to this law, and we shall reproduce it from Margoliouth's *History of the Jews in Great Britain*:

> A young Jew having embraced the Christian religion, and, becoming consequently disinherited, bethought himself to take advantage of Queen Anne's Act. He accordingly sued his father for 'a sufficient maintenance in proportion to his circumstances.' The parent was not disposed to submit to the act without a struggle; he determined therefore, to take legal action. Having laid the case before the most learned counsel of the day, and having offered a lucrative reward, if the lawyer could devise any plan whatever, so as to outwit his apostate son, the jurist promised to set his wits to work, and he thought a way of escape might yet be found. He said, moreover, that if the Hebrew client would call upon him the following day, accompanied with the promised fee, he would tell him of the best mode of defence to be adopted against his son. The Hebrew departed from him in better spirits than he entered into the barrister's house, and with characteristic punctuality he presented himself once more at the appointed hour before his legal champion.
>
> 'Well, Sir,' said the Hebrew, 'I hope it is all right, and that that rascal of a son of mine will not be allowed to eat pork at my expense.'
>
> 'I have hit upon a plan, after a sleepless night of cogitation,' rejoined the counsel, 'and it is the only plan that will effectually prevent him eating pork or anything else at your expense.'
>
> The barrister paused, the client knew its meaning.
>
> 'There, Sir, your eyes shall not have been deprived of sleep, nor your eyelids from slumber for nothing. I hope you will consider this fee ample, and let your mouth utter the plan.'
>
> The lawyer secured the liberal reward, and then with judicial gravity propounded his matured plan.
>
> 'The only way, dear Sir, to neutralise that obnoxious Act of Her Majesty, is, for you to be publicly baptised into the Christian Church. You see the law does not provide for Christian children, but it does for Jewish.'
>
> 'And is this the only plan?' exclaimed the irritated client.
>
> 'The only plan, I assure you; and its formation deprived me of last night's sleep.'
>
> 'I wish then you slept and never awoke,' muttered the disappointed Hebrew, and departed.[233]

232 Tovey, pp. 295-6; Hyamson: *History*, p. 210. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from Tovey.
233 Margoliouth: *History*, Vol. II, pp. 55-7. Translator's note: Quotation reproduced verbatim from original source.

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